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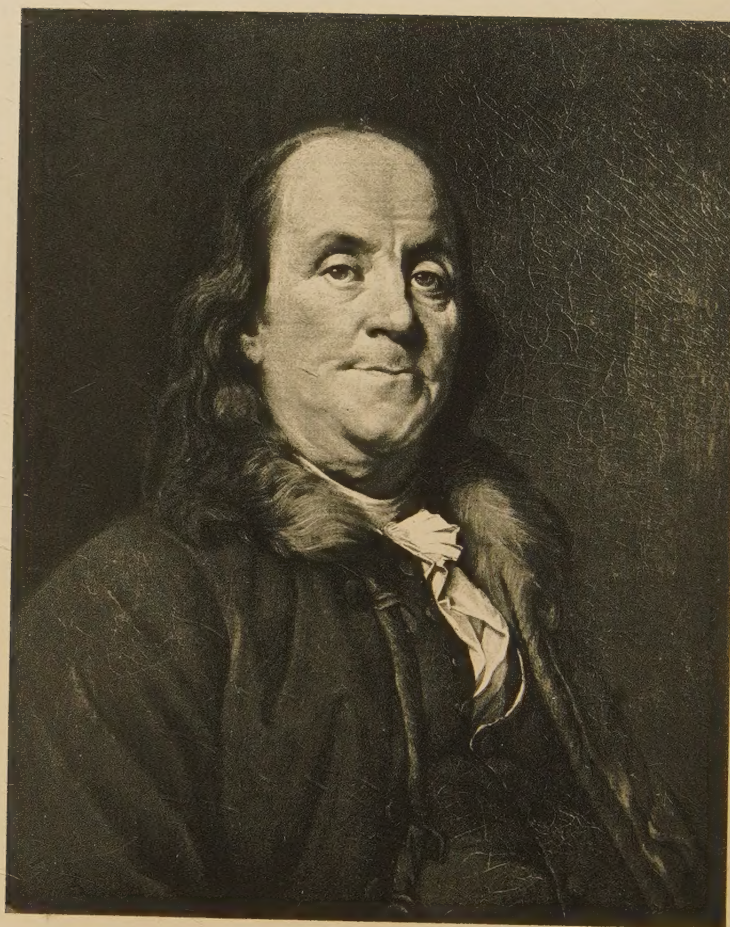
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The United States

A History of Three Centuries

1607-1904

Population, Politics, War, Industry, Civilization

By

William Estabrook Chancellor

and

Fletcher Willis Hewes

Author of "Statistical Atlas of the United States"

In Ten Parts

G. P. Putnam's Sons

New York and London

The Knickerbocker Press

1905

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FLETCHER WILLIS HEWES

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The United States — A History of Three Centuries : : : : : :

Part II

Colonial Union, 1698-1774

The Record of the Development of the Several English Colonies
and of the Rise of the Spirit of Revolution

With 100 Maps and Diagrams

G. P. Putnam's Sons
New York and London
The Knickerbocker Press

1905

PREFACE

IN the preparation of this new History of the United States, the authors have several purposes in view. Of these, the first is to present, within the moderate compass of ten volumes, an authoritative account, based upon the latest and best-approved research and scholarship. A second purpose is to present more comprehensively than has been done in any earlier work of similar size the several essential divisions of the history of our country. To this end, it is necessary to reduce somewhat the comparative space apportioned to political and military events in order to present with sufficient fulness of detail the less familiar records of industry, commerce, finance, religion, education, and literature. A third aim is to associate in closely defined sections in each volume the facts peculiarly pertinent to the several subjects. The chief advantage of this feature of the plan is that it secures for the reader a definite and consistent record of the progress of the country in the well-recognized lines of politics, industry, and general culture. A fourth purpose is to present this account vividly and with all the interest that properly attaches to the history of our nation.

The earlier volume of this work includes four preliminary chapters, dealing with matters prior to

1607, the year with which we begin our detailed account of the development of the American people and of American institutions. In the preliminary pages is presented a theory of the origin of the races of mankind, based upon the latest investigations and hypotheses. Under this theory, certain conditions of the amalgamation and Americanization of the various immigrant stocks, otherwise inexplicable, may be adequately accounted for, as will appear in later volumes.

In the first volume, we emphasize the significance of European ideas in the early colonial life of America: for instance, the culture from Holland and the relative influence of Puritan and Cavalier. The entire narrative constitutes a general exposition of the fundamental causes from which, a century later, were developed the first principles of American democracy. A special feature of this first volume, which indicates the method to be pursued for the entire work, is the series of citations from important contemporaneous documents. This feature will characterize the entire history.

The present volume furnishes an extended study of the Negro population during the later colonial period, systematic accounts of the development of each of the several colonies, and an exposition of the distinction to be drawn between the revolution in the minds of men that resulted in rejection of English control and the war itself that followed the revolution and resulted in national independence. It presents also the treatment of the fall of Quebec as a triumph of the new sea-power of England, a demonstration of the progress of the utilitarian

interests of the colonists as the primary source of their opposition to the reactionary policy of King George, and discussions of denominational progress, of education, and of literature in the seventy-five years preceding the outbreak of the War of Independence. The volume covers in, general, the so-called "neglected period" from 1700 to 1760, and the period of radical agitation from 1761 to 1774. It brings together the results of recent investigations by the authors themselves and by other students of American history.

THE AUTHORS.

CONTENTS

PART ONE—POPULATION AND POLITICS

PAGE

CHAPTER I

GROWTH OF POPULATION, 1697-1760.....	3
England, France, and Spain, 3—Growth of Population, 5—Comparison of the Colonies, 7—Proportion of Negro Population, 8—Influence of the Negro, 9—European Immigration, 10—Westward Movement of Colonial Migration, 11—Landlords and Slavelords, 11.	

CHAPTER II

GROWTH OF POPULATION—SLAVERY, 1697-1760.....	12
The Slave-Trade, 12—European Slave Factories in Africa, 13—Negro Fatalities, 14—Warfare Disguised as Trade, 15—Growth of Negro Population, 15—Status of the Slave, 16—Racial Sex-Purity, 17—Racial Origin, 17—Negro Marriage, 19—Christian Bondage, 20—Negro Instruction, 21—Rank of Slave Owners, 22—Colonial Characteristics, 23.	

CHAPTER III

GEORGIA, 1732-1774.....	25
English Debtors, 25—Social Conditions, 26—Oglethorpe, 27—Savannah, 28—Port Royal, 29—Immigration, 30—Colonial Conditions, 31—Agricultural Experiment, 32—Change of Government, 33—Prosperity, 33—Modes of Life, 34.	

CHAPTER IV

	PAGE
THE WESTERN MOVEMENT OF POPULATION, 1750-1774.	36
Expansion, 36—The Moving Forces, 37—The Leading Pioneers, 39—Washington, the Surveyor, 40—The Earliest Pioneering, 41—The Blue Ridge Crossed, 42—Daniel Boone, 43—"The Blue Grass Country," 44—James Robertson, 45—"Intellectual Wild Men," 46—Sir William Johnson, 46—The West, 47.	

CHAPTER V

COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS, 1697-1774.....	49
Different Colonial Governments, 49—Legislative Bodies, 50—A Royal Colony, 51—Colonial Counties, 52—The Governor, 53—Colony and Parliament, 54—A Proprietary Colony, 55—The Largest City, 56—A Charter Colony, 58—The Town, 59—The Conservatism of Democracy, 60—Political Conditions, 61—Tenure of Office, 62—The Largest Town, 63.	

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE COLONIES—THE SOUTHERN COLONIES, 1697-1759.....	64
Before the Time of George III., 64—Development of National Ideas, 65—Virginia, 66—"Order of the Golden Horseshoe," 67—The Ohio Company, 68—Maryland, 69—Number and Size of Colonies, 71—North Carolina, 72—Cosmopolitanism, 73—Peculiar Ideas, 74—Edenton, 75—Arrears of Salaries, 76—South Carolina, 77—Negro Insurrection, 78—"Levelling Principles" Prevail, 79.	

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE COLONIES—THE MIDDLE COLONIES, 1697-1759.....	81
Contrasts, 81 — Pennsylvania, 83 — Pennsbury Manor, 84—Limited Franchise, 85—The Penn	

Contents

xi

PAGE

Proprietors, 86—The "Walking-Purchase," 87—
The Typical Quaker, 88—Iroquois Allegiance, 89
—Delaware, 90—The Jerseys, 91—Monotonous
History, 92—New York, 93—Jacob Leisler, 94—
Alliance with the Six Nations, 95—Spoils of Office,
96—Race Troubles, 97—Indian Relations, 98—
The Crown and Local Opinion, 99.

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE COLONIES—NORTHERN COLONIES, 1697-1760.....	100
Comparisons, 100—Colonial Characteristics, 101— In Southern New England, 102—Boundary Lines, 103—Little Colonies, 104—Connecticut, 105— Control of Clergy, 106—Rhode Island, 107—War Attitude, 108—New Hampshire, 109—The Went- worths, 111—The Two Frontiers, 112—Summary, 113—Massachusetts, 114—The Charter, 114—Re- ligious Liberty, 115—Comparative Conditions of the Colonies, 116—The Royal Governors, 117— The Transformation, 119—Colonial Colleges, 121 —The Border People, 121—Historical Perspective Population and Politics, 1698-1760, 122.	

CHAPTER IX

THE PROGRESS OF NEW FRANCE AND OF NEW SPAIN, 1697-1774.....	125
A Divided Empire, 125—National Cement, 126— Florida, 127—Alabama, 128—Mississippi, 129— Louisiana and the Valley, 130—Ohio, 132—Minne- sota, 133—Quality of the Settlers, 135—Political Institutions, 137—Slight Progress, 138.	

CHAPTER X

THE NAVIGATION ACTS.....	140
Marine Supremacy, 140—Dutch Commerce, 141— Commercial Self-Interest, 142—Adam Smith, 143 —Important Acts, 143—Discrimination, 144—	

Enrichment of English Merchants, 145—Registry of English Ships, 146—The West Indies, 147—Political Aspects, 147—England in Contempt, 148—Writs of Assistance, 149.

CHAPTER XI

THE REVOLUTION IN THE MINDS OF MEN..... 150

Popular Prepossessions, 150—Not Exclusively English, 151—Patriotism, 152—For the Crown Against Parliament, 153—American Idea of Representation, 154—Dutch, Swiss, and Italian Ideas, 155—The Reading of our Forefathers, 156—Natural Society, 157—The Rights of Man, 158—A Small Majority, 159—The Divided English, 160—George III. Criticised, 160—Monarchy *versus* Republic, 161—A Slow Growth, 162—Colonial Officers, 163—Board of Trade and Plantations, 164—English Control, 165—The Royal Prerogative, 166—Parliament not Representative, 167—Government a Private Business, 167.

CHAPTER XII

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION..... 169

A Single Colony, 169—The Albany Convention, 170—Plan of Union, 171—Earl of London, 172—British Political Measures, 173—Internal Taxes, 174—Writs of Assistance, 175—James Otis, 176—The Parson's Cause, 177—The King Degenerates into a Tyrant, 178—Patrick Henry, 179—The English Ministry, 179—Spirit of the Constitution, 180—Vice Admiralty Courts, 181—The Laws of God, 182.

CHAPTER XIII

COLONIAL UNION, 1765-1774..... 183

The Stamp Act, 183—Taxation without Representation, 184—Privileges and Immunities, 185—The New Word, "Unconstitutional," 186—Town-

Contents

xiii

PAGE

shend Acts, 187—The New York Petition, 188—
The Soldiery, 189—Sons of Liberty, 190—Street
Riots, 191—The Regulators, 192—Independent
Governors, 193—Committees of Correspondence,
194—Samuel Adams, 195—Benjamin Franklin,
196—Parliament not Omnipotent, 197—The Tem-
per of America, 198—The Five Acts, 199—Boston
Port Bill, 200—Colonial Awakening, 201—First
Continental Congress, 202—Exclusive Colonial
Legislation, 203—Provincial Congress, 204.

CHAPTER XIV

OUR LAST YEARS AS COLONISTS, 1761-1774..... 205
Population, 205—Negroes, 206—Massachusetts,
207—New Hampshire, 208—Rhode Island, 208—
New York, 209—New Jersey, 211—Pennsylvania,
212—Maryland, 213—Virginia, 214—Patrick
Henry, 215—Religious Turmoil, 216—Thomas
Jefferson, 217—North Carolina, 218—South Caro-
lina, 219—Georgia, 220—English Office-Holders,
220—Colonial Grievances, 221—The English Gov-
ernment, 222—American Loyalty, 222—Historical
Perspective, Population and Politics, 1760-1774,
223.

PART TWO—WAR

CHAPTER I

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR, 1702-1713..... 227
A Century of Warfare, 227—Intercolonial Wars,
228—Queen Anne's War, 229—The Border War-
fare, 230—Deerfield, 231—Motives of the Raid,
233—Haverhill, 234—Motives of the War, 234—
Port Royal and St. John, 235—Crown Point and
Acadia, 236—The Quebec Fiasco, 237—Treaty of
Utrecht, 238.

CHAPTER II

	PAGE
THE ENGLISH-SPANISH WAR, 1740-1743.....	239
Cartagena, 239—War Declared Against Spain, 239	
—The Deliverance, 240—General Oglethorpe's	
Dash and Skill, 240—Fort William, Georgia, 240	
—St. Augustine, Florida, 241.	

CHAPTER III

KING GEORGE'S WAR, 1744-1748.....	242
War of the Austrian Succession, 242—Louisbourg,	
242—William Pepperell, 243—Reverend George	
Whitefield, 244—The Fortress of Louisbourg, 244	
—The Siege, 245—Provincial "Luck," 245—	
Capitulation of Duchambon, 246—Colonial Joy,	
247—Louisbourg Pestilence, 247—Treaty of Aix-	
la-Chapelle, 248—The Logical Issue, 248.	

CHAPTER IV

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, 1754-1763.....	249
Acadia, 249—The Ohio Valley, 250—European	
Tension, 251—The Fate of New France, 252—On	
the Ohio, 253—George Washington, 254—The	
First Encounter, 255—Fighting Strength, 256—	
Braddock's Campaign, 257—Battle of Fort Du	
Quesne, 258—The Acadians, 259—Dieskau's Cam-	
paign, 260—Colonial Fighters, 261—The Border,	
262—Frightened Quakers, 263—The Lake George	
Region, 264—Montcalm and the Indians, 265—	
Fort William Henry, 266—Winter in Canada, 267	
—English Sea-Power, 268—Louisbourg, 268—	
—Lord Howe, 269—Ticonderoga, 270—General	
Forbes, 271—France, 272—England, 273—Wolfe,	
275—Amherst, 277—Colonial Joy, 278—Treaty of	
Paris, 278.	

Contents

xv

CHAPTER V

	PAGE
THE CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC, 1763-1769.....	280
Doom of the Red Man, 280—The Cause of France, 280—The Rise of Pontiac, 281—His Qualities, 281 —The Struggle, 281.	

PART THREE—INDUSTRY

CHAPTER I

INDUSTRY, 1698-1774.....	287
Colonial Passions, 287—Independence, 288— Flowering of Freedom, 289—New England, 289— Thrift and Spendthrift, 290—Middle Colonies, 290 —Southern Colonies, 291—Slavery, 292—Indus- trial Aids, 293—Non-Consumption, 294—Ad- vancement, 296—Historical Perspective, Industry, 1698-1774, 297.	

CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURE, 1698-1774.....	298
The Great Experiment, 298—English Experiment, 299—A Surplus, 300—Conquest, 300—Northern Ohio Valley, 301—The South, 302—New England, 303—Cities, 304—Corn, 304—Wheat, 305—To- bacco, 307—Mountain Products, 309—Flax and Hemp, 310—Rice, 311—Indigo, 312—Cotton, 314 —Potatoes, 315—Silk, 316—Miscellaneous Pro- ducts, 318—Historical Perspective, Agriculture, 1698-1744, 320.	

CHAPTER III

COLONIAL MANUFACTURE, 1698-1774.....	322
Conflict, 322—English Attitude, 323—English Knowledge, 324—English Belief, 325—Colonial Views, 326—Object of the Narratives, 327.	

CHAPTER IV

	PAGE
IRON, STEEL, AND MINOR METALS, 1698-1774.....	328
Expansion, 328—Colonial Iron Tested, 329—Proposed Action, 330—Progress, 331—Belated Action, 332—Legislative Opposition, 333—Colonial Iron Export, 334—Diversity, 334—Stoves, 335—Firearms, 336—Historical Perspective, Iron and Steel, 1698-1774, 337—Minor Metals, 339—Copper, 339—Simsbury, 339—Belleville, 340—Pumping Engine, 341—"Freedoms," 341—Tin-plate, 342—Historical Perspective, Minor Metals, 1698-1774, 342.	

CHAPTER V

SHIPBUILDING AND FISHERY, 1698-1774.....	344
Interwoven Interests, 344—Sales, 345—Young Englishmen, 346—Boston's Record, 347—Other Records, 347—Tonnage Built in 1769, 348—Mast Trees, 348—Raft-Ships, 349—Schooner, 350—Quadrant, 350—Inland Building, 351—Tonnage, 1769-1772, 352—Naval Readiness, 352—Historical Perspective, Shipbuilding, 1698-1774, 353—Fishery, 353— <i>Blessing of the Bay</i> , 354—Fishing Tackle, 354—Law, 355—Whaling, 355—Expansion, 356—Historical Perspective, Fishery, 1698-1774, 357.	

CHAPTER VI

TEXTILES, 1698-1774.....	358
Seventeenth Century, 358—Conflict, 359—Prison, 359—Point of View, 360—Conditions, 361—Tobacco Panic, 362—Progress, 363—Progress Measured, 364—An Estimate, 365—Summer and Winter, 365—Americans, 366—Encouragements, 366—Spinning Matches, 367—Manufactories, 368—Silk, 368—Cotton, 369—Cotton Gin, 369—Historical Perspective, Textiles, 1698-1774, 370.	

CHAPTER VII

	PAGE
PAPER, PRINTING, BOOKS, 1698-1774.....	372
Civilization, 372—Monopoly, 373—Bounty, 374—	
English Action, 375—Philadelphia and Boston,	
376—Wall-paper, 376—Prosperity Defined, 377—	
Printing, 378—Freedom of the Press, 378—News-	
papers, 379—First Printing Press in Each Colony,	
380—Woman Printer, 380—Type Foundry, 381—	
Printer's Ink, 382—Bookbinding, 382—Blank	
Books, 382—Franklin, 383—Historical Perspec-	
tive, Paper and Printing, 1698-1774, 384.	

CHAPTER VIII

MINOR MANUFACTURES, 1698-1774.....	386
Lumber, 386—Mast Pines, 387—Progress, 387—	
Sawmill Capacity, 388—Grist Mills, 389—Balti-	
more and Philadelphia, 390—Leather, 390—Shoes,	
391—Buckskin, 392—Brick, 392—Drink, 393—	
Salt, 394—Glass, 394—Invention, 395—Diversity,	
395—Newport, 396—Prosperity Defined, 397—	
Historical Perspective, Minor Manufactures, 1698,	
1774, 397.	

CHAPTER IX

TRADE (COMMERCE), 1698-1774.....	399
Bridging the Chasm, 399—Piracy, 400—Privateer-	
ing, 400—A Fish, the Mainspring, 401—Driving	
Wheels, 401—Details of Trade, 402—English Atti-	
tude, 403—English Friends, 403—Import from	
England, 404—Molasses Act, 404—Illicit Trade,	
405—Trade Restrictions, 405—Trade Revision,	
406—Writs of Assistance, 407—The Storm, 407—	
Effect of Non-Intercourse Resolutions in 1769, 408	
—Tea Tax, 409—Relative Export in British Trade,	
409—Coastwise Traffic, 409—Fishing Craft Winter	
Trade, 410—Coastwise Laws, 410—Colonial Inter-	
course, 411—Historical Perspective, Trade, 1698—	
1774, 411—Pennsylvania Trade with England,	
413.	

CHAPTER X

	PAGE
TRANSPORTATION, 1698-1774.....	415
Sea Paths, 415—Pack-horses and Wains, 415— Tobacco-rolling, 416—Land Routes, 417—Blue Ridge Pathway, 418—Wabash Trade Route, 418 —Stage, Post, and Express Routes, 418—Car- riages, 419—Water Routes, 419—Discrimination, 420—Historical Perspective, Transportation, 1698- 1774, 420.	

CHAPTER XI

FINANCE, 1698-1774.....	422
Emancipation, 422—Barter, 422—Specie Scarce, 423—Production, 424—Opportunity Handicapped, 424—A Common Medium of Exchange, 425—The Missing Link, 425—A Financial Thumb, 426— Demand of the Times, 426—Colonial Attitude, 426—Paper Money Issues, 427—Practical Results 428—Industrial Prosperity, 428—Details of Issue, 429—Depreciation, 430—Poor and Rich, 430— First Money, 431—Specie Basis, 431—Price of Sil- ver, 432—The Bonds of Barter Broken, 432—Per- spective, 433—Banks, 433—"Greenbacks," 434— Taxation, 434—Culmination, 435—Historical Per- spective, Finance, 1698-1774, 436.—Industrial Conditions, 1774, 440.	

PART FOUR—CIVILIZATION

CHAPTER I

RELIGION AND MORALITY.....	445
Methodism, 445 — Whitefield, 446 — Wesleyan Methodism, 447—Jonathan Edwards, 448—The New Birth, 448—The "Great Awakening," 449— Congregationalism, 450—Baptists and Presbyter- ians, 451—Episcopacy, 451—Other Denomina-	

Contents

xix

PAGE

tions, 452—Moral Conduct, 453—Moral Standards, 453—Ethics, Lottery, Gambling, 454—"Sexual Irregularities," 455—Sin not Crime, 455—Regeneration, 455—Historical Perspective, Religion and Morality, 1698-1774, 490.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION..... 457

Illusion, 457—Social Conditions, 457—Morals, Self-education, Higher Life, 458—Peril of Ignorance, 459—Genius and Education, 459—Quality of Teachers, 459—Pay of Teachers, 460—College Requirements, 460—"New Education," 461—Elementary Studies, 461—Girls' School, 462—School Year, 462—Illiteracy, 462—Text-books and Authors, 463—Grammar and Latin Schools, 463—School-houses, 464—Education Becomes Democratic, 464. Historical Perspective, Education, 1698-1774, 491.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE..... 465

American Individuality, 465—English Insularity, 465—Colonial Writers, 466—Freedom to Think, 466 Periodicals and Pamphlets, 466—Cotton Mather, 467—Religious Literature, 467—Samuel Sewall, 468—John Woolman, 468—Jonathan Edwards, 468—Beautiful Literature, 469—The "Tenth Muse," 470—Benjamin Franklin, 471—*Poor Richard's Almanac*, 472—*Essays to do Good*, 472—*Pennsylvania Packet*, 472—John Dickinson, 473—Thomas Hutchinson, 473—Crèvecoeur, 473—William Byrd, 474—Colonial Art, 475—Colonial Plays, 475—Historical Perspective, Literature, 1698-1774, 492.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL LIFE..... 477

Colonialism, 477—Society, 477—Ancestry, 477—Antiques, 478—Roominess, 478—Furnishings, 478

—Frontier, 479—Classes, 479—Castes, 479—Redemptioners, 479—American Principle, 480—Transformations, 480—Wealthy Classes, 480—Great Landlords, 481—Rich Planters, 481—Slavery, 482—London Fashions, 482—Freedom, 482—Measure of Civilization, 483—Zenger's Trial, 483—Seditious Libels, 484—Victory of Democracy, 485—The Greater Cities, 486—The Roads, 486—Local Government, 487—Penalties for Crime, 487—Humanitarianism, 488—Colonial Character, 488—Human Nature, 489—Historical Perspective, Social Life, 1698-1774, 494.

CONTEMPORANEOUS EUROPEAN HISTORY,

1697-1774..... 496

The French Century, 496—The American Century, 497—Louis Quatorze, 497—Grand Alliance, 498—Louis Quinze, 499—War of the Austrian Succession, 499—Louis XV., 500—Wealth and Poverty, 500—Prussia, 500—American Ancestry, 501—House of Hohenzollern, 501—The Lithuanian-German-Polish Kingdom, 502—Frederick the Great, 502—Partition of Poland, 503—German Scientific Inquiry, 503—Russia, 504—Tsar Peter, 504—Three Partitions of Poland, 505—The Century of the Georges, 505—Bribery by Walpole, 506—Holland, 507—Spain, 507—Change to Bourbon, 508—Activity of European Upper Classes, 508—The Isolation of Men, 509—Eighteenth Century Periods, 509—The Masses and the Men of Thought, 510.

REFERENCES AND NOTES..... 511

INDEX..... 517

MAPS AND DIAGRAMS

	PAGE
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.....	<i>Frontispiece</i>
From the painting by Duplessis.	
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—COLONIAL CONTEMPORARIES, 1607-1774.....	I
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—POPULATION AND POLITICS, 1698-1774.....	3
THE WORLD IN 1774.....	224
THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER FROM THE FALLS OF MONT- MORENCY TO SILLERY: SHOWING THE OPERATIONS OF THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC.....	224
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—GREATER WARS—MINOR CONFLICTS, 1698-1774.....	226
NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA IN 1775—THE CONFLICT- ING SPANISH, FRENCH, AND ENGLISH CLAIMS.....	248
EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS IN 1763—THE RESULT OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS.....	278
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—AGRICULTURE AND MANU- FACTURE, TRADE, TRANSPORTATION, FINANCE, 1698- 1774.....	286
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—RELIGION, MORALS, LIT- ERATURE, EDUCATION, SOCIAL LIFE, ART—1698- 1774.....	444
EUROPE IN 1740.....	490
THE BRITISH COLONIES IN 1700 AND IN 1774 ACCORDING TO POPULATION.....	<i>At End</i>

In addition to the above, this volume contains 87 small maps throughout the text.

Part One
Population and Politics

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE — 1698-1774

POPULATION

POLITICS

1700 800,000	1700	1700
1700 Boston population, 7000		1702, N.J.—East and West Jerseys unite Eng.—Accession of Queen Anne
1702 Ind.—Vincennes founded		
1709, N.Y.—Slave market established	1710	1710.—General colonial post-office established
		1714, Eng.—Accession of George I.
1716, Va.—Route opened across Blue Ridge		1718, La.—Bienville in control
1717, La.—New Orleans founded		
1718.—French settlers in the Ohio Valley	1720	1721.—“Mississippi Bubble” bursts
		1727, Eng.—Accession of George II. 1729.—Carolina proprietors surrender the government
1724, Eng.—Colonial slave trade encouraged	1730	
1730.—Period of discoveries by Vérendrye		1733, Eng.—The “Sugar Act” passed
1733, Ga.—Settled by Oglethorpe		
	1740	1741, Eng.—Colonial paper money issues restrained
1744, Wis.—Langlade makes a settlement		1748, N.Y.—Colonial Congress at Albany
1749.—Ohio Company organized	1750	1752, Eng.—New Year’s day made Jan. 1 Ga. becomes a royal province
1750, Pa.—Over 5000 immigrants, mostly Germans		1754, N.Y.—Congress of 7 colonies Union proposed by Franklin
1754, N.C.—Many Scotch Highlanders arrive		1760.—Accession of George III.
1760-74.—Remarkable increase in population. Nearly 100% in fourteen years	1760 1,500,000	1763.—Eng. secures Canada 1765, Eng.—The “Stamp Act” passed 1766.—“Stamp Act” repealed and Declaratory Act passed 1767, Eng.—“Townsend Acts” passed 1768.—Non-importation societies begun
1773, S.C.—6000 Negroes imported Boone in Kentucky	1774	1773.—“Boston Tea Party” 1774.—Continental Congress

Explanatory: — Increase of population is indicated: 1, By the size of the circles. 2, By the distance each circle is placed from the left hand edge of the diagram. — Events are representative, not exhaustive.

1774

2,700,000

CHAPTER I

GROWTH OF POPULATION

1697-1760

At the time of the Treaty of Ryswick, 1697, there were twelve English colonies within the region that is now included in the United States.

These were by no means the only English colonies in the New World, for **England, France, and Spain**

England possessed several islands in the West Indies, and prized them highly for their agricultural wealth and for their fortunate commercial location. On the North American continent there were other colonies than the English in the year 1697, for Spain held Florida in the southeast, besides all the great Southwest, and France had established outposts of her power at various points from Montreal to the mouth of the Mississippi. Both Spain and France rightfully claimed far greater domains in the region that is to-day the United States than England claimed; and they dreamed of futures which, for reasons that will be shown later, were never to be realized. Within the English territory, there were about three hundred thousand people; Spain was represented by perhaps a thousand settlers; while France could muster but a

dozen or a score here and there, holding the trading posts, chiefly in the North.

To the well-informed and impartial European spectator, it must have seemed probable that great changes would come in America through the development of the Spanish and French colonial enterprises which would reduce the colonies of England to comparative insignificance. At home, Spain had two or three times as many people as England, her wealth was many times greater, and she possessed already the largest part of the Americas. It is a natural law that "unto him that hath shall be given." Likewise, France was far stronger and richer than the island-kingdom across the Channel.

For the sake of pointing out contrasts, we may call the sixteenth the Spanish century, the seven-



teenth the Protestant or perhaps the Dutch century, the eighteenth the French century, and the nineteenth the English century. In the year 1697, the statesman of cosmopolitan mind, who possessed a profound knowledge of history, might easily have been persuaded that the

United Provinces would soon regain the Hudson valley, that "Louis le Grand" would pour a flood of emigrants into New France, and that Spain, renewing her great days, would take effective possession of all the Southeast. These ideas would have been realized in the ordinary course of events, but the Treaty of Ryswick was destined to be followed by no ordinary happenings. England was to send the great Marlborough

to win famous victories against France, thereby distracting her attention and diverting her resources from New World colonization. Holland was fated to suffer from a surplus of wealth, from an excessive social disintegration because of numerous alien elements in her population, from being the scene or near the scene of great wars, and from the increased power of rulers distinctly less able than those Princes of Orange-Nassau who had guided her for the century after her Declaration of Independence. Spain was to advertise to the world the incompetence of her rulers and the degeneracy of her people, caused in part by the Inquisition and in part by the receipt of unearned wealth. These conditions gave England her opportunity, which unfortunately, though not unexpectedly, she was not to use uniformly well.

Not one, not all, of these conditions can serve adequately to explain the amazing development of the English colonies. They serve to explain only in part the failure of the colonies of other nations to grow proportionately fast. In the English colonies, there were at least five times as many persons in 1750 as in 1700, and of these, not over one in ten of the whites was foreign-born. The chief causes of the surpassing growth of their numbers were the abnormally high birth-rate of the whites and the vast importation of the blacks. Large families of European descent were common. The death-rate was high compared with twentieth-century facts, but not high compared with the death-rate in Europe. There was room for every child that was born; there was a demand for labor. Land was free or very cheap;

**Growth of
Population**

transit was free for nearly all white persons; and with his plow, ax, and musket (after 1740 the rifle), a healthy man could make a home almost anywhere and live by his hunting and farming. Pioneering was the order of the day. Most families were as much out of doors all the year round as are those who at the present time camp in the woods in summer. Nature gave the colonists health and strength, or quickly killed them. Invalids were very few. Society was burdened by scarcely any economic parasites. It was a rude and egoistic, but generally peaceful, time. The days of American "hustle" had not come, and nervousness was not yet characteristic of the people. Only the individuals, not the race, had become acclimated, for that our national nervousness is the effect of climate upon the vigorous Teutonic stock is the opinion of many qualified observers. There was much idleness, but it was the idleness not of certain social classes but of all the people, and alternated with work. The labor day was long, but artificial lights were too poor to induce many to prolong their labor into the night. There was abundant time for family life, which was vigorous and wholesome. The opportunity to rise in the world was everywhere, and was, in the lives of most individuals, often renewed. In such a condition of society, the various Teutonic stocks in America displayed a prolific fecundity unrivaled in any other age or land. This unprecedented growth of population soon gave the English colonies an agricultural and commercial development that completely upset all European calculations. Within two generations of the time of the Treaty of Rys-

wick, and with no very great gain by white immigration, the colonies had grown to a population nearly a quarter of that of the prosperous and growing mother-country.

The English colonies were twelve in number,—Massachusetts with Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware under one governor, Maryland, Virginia, and North and South Carolina. Of these, Virginia and Massachusetts outranked all the others in population, in wealth, and in power. The future of English America was plainly in their hands. Compared with them, New York, under the sordid Dutch, had made a bad start; and Pennsylvania, though its settlement had really begun with the coming of the Swedes half a century before, was essentially a recent colony and still in the experimental stage. The other colonies were but small affairs. A comparison of their populations in 1697 and 1760 is significant.

1697		1760	
All		White	Black
New Hampshire.....	7,000	50,000	1,000
Massachusetts (and Maine)....	73,000	215,000	5,000
Rhode Island.....	8,000	37,000	4,500
Connecticut.....	33,000	136,000	3,500
New York.....	24,000	90,000	11,000
New Jersey.....	17,000	75,000	6,000
Pennsylvania and Delaware....	23,000	200,000	12,000
Maryland.....	35,000	110,000	45,000
Virginia.....	75,000	175,000	120,000
North Carolina }	8,000	65,000	25,000
South Carolina }		30,000	90,000
Georgia.....	—	5,000	2,000
	303,000	1,188,000	325,000

	Total Gain	Per Cent. of Increase	Total
New Hampshire.....	44,000	738 %	51,000
Massachusetts.....	147,000	293 %	220,000
Rhode Island.....	33,500	519 %	41,500
Connecticut.....	106,500	423 %	139,500
New York.....	77,000	420 %	101,000
New Jersey.....	64,000	476 %	81,000
Pennsylvania and Delaware....	189,000	921 %	212,000
Maryland.....	120,000	500 %	155,000
Virginia.....	220,000	393 %	295,000
North Carolina }	202,000	2625 %	90,000
South Carolina }			120,000
Georgia.....	7,000	—	7,000
	1,210,000	—	1,513,000

It appears, therefore, that in colonial history the addition of Georgia, the thirteenth colony, was relatively an unimportant matter. Two facts at once impress us,—that, in 1760, New Hampshire and Massachusetts together in the Northern Colonies, Pennsylvania and Maryland together in the Middle, and Virginia alone in the Southern, had about as large a population as that of the twelve colonies in 1697; and that, in 1760, the blacks almost equaled the numbers of the whites in 1697. These two facts lie upon the face of the record. Others less apparent, and perhaps less important, have a certain significance. Less than one fifth of the Negroes in the seven colonies were north of the latitude of Mason and Dixon's line, and more than four fifths were in the six colonies south. Priority in time of settlement had ceased to be of very great importance, for Pennsylvania, whose effective settlement dated from 1681, had more white settlers than Virginia and almost as many as Massachusetts. Government alone, not soil, not quality of people, explains the

success of Pennsylvania in comparison with either Virginia or New York. Massachusetts had to contend with a harsh climate and a poor soil, yet in her white population she surpassed every other colony; and all, excepting New Hampshire and Rhode Island, had superior geographical advantages. Let those who argue (as many do) that laws make but little difference in the prosperity and the morality, the happiness and the progress, of a people, study patiently the story of the American colonies in the first six decades of the seventeenth century. We may note still another fact, that in one colony, South Carolina, the blacks equaled the whites in number, and that in a second colony, Virginia, they were as two to three. Despite its superior advantages of soil and location, South Carolina did not keep pace with the development of North Carolina, which had nearly twice as many white settlers. In its white population, the democratic colony that the Virginians had dubbed the "sanctuary of runaways" distinctly surpassed its aristocratic southern neighbor.

When we come to consider the black populations of the South in their relation to its economic development, we may raise a fair question as to whether their presence did or did not contribute to the increase of population. The blacks were very numerous, but did not their supply of labor decrease the demand for the labor of white immigrants who otherwise would have come to Virginia and the Carolinas? Did not their performance of so-called menial labor discourage such labor by the whites themselves, and

**Influence of
the Negro**

thereby tend to set in operation that check upon population which results from fear of social degradation and from enjoyment of physical leisure? Certainly the families of the white settlers of the South were not as large as were those of the North. Certainly, also, during the early part of the eighteenth century, small as was the immigration from Europe, a large majority of those immigrants who did come avoided that half of the English colonies which absorbed the compulsory immigrants from Africa. To the general truth of this statement, the only exception is that South Carolina attracted "secondary colonization" from the West Indies. We must remember, in this connection, that the cotton-culture had not yet developed in the South, and that the Negroes were chiefly desired for the tobacco-plantations of Virginia and for the rice-swamps of the Carolinas. It has often been said that the South could not have been developed but for the enforced labor of the Negroes. It may be true that white men could not have endured the climate of the swamps of the Carolinas, but it is not true that black men alone can endure field-labor in Virginia and Maryland. If no Negroes had been imported as slaves into America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is likely that the rice culture would have become but slightly developed. On the other hand, it is likely that more Europeans would have gone into the South, and that its ultimate development would have been far more satisfactory than it actually came to be.

By the year 1760, the social tone of the Southern Colonies was already determined. There was a

political aristocracy based upon an economic aristocracy. It is this that, more than anything else, explains the fact that the western-moving tide of American migration began not in New England, New York, or Pennsylvania, but in Virginia and the Carolinas. In the aristocracy founded upon Negro slavery, there was but little room for the free but poor white wage-earner. The land- and slave-lords owned most of the land, and needed to hire but little labor. As the white bondmen served out their time, and as their children grew to manhood and womanhood, in a contracted labor market they could find but limited opportunities for work and wages. The result was the western migration, one of whose earliest leaders was the immortal Washington.

CHAPTER II

GROWTH OF POPULATION—SLAVERY

1697-1760

WHAT the slave-system meant, in the English colonies, even as early as the first part of the eighteenth century, can best be understood and realized by a consideration of certain facts of the slave-trade and of the slave-status. The legal and commercial origin of that trade was in 1482, when Alfonso de Aviro, a Portuguese, discovered Benin in Africa, the capital (as it were) of a strong Negro empire. There began at one and the same time Christian missions and Christian slave-trading. The former died out, and England suppressed the latter upon the Gulf of Benin.

The Slave-Trade



There began at one and the same time Christian missions and Christian slave-trading. The former died out, and England suppressed the latter upon the Gulf of Benin. Then the cruel Negroes of Dahomey took up the horrid business. Charles V. granted to a Flemish favorite a patent for the trade, which, later, at a cost of twenty-five thousand ducats, certain Genoese merchants acquired. These licensed traders purchased their slaves from the Portuguese upon the coast of Africa and became the first sailors systematically to prosecute the slave-trade between Africa and America.

In 1562, Hawkins and the English engaged in the traffic. A century later, it was so eminently respectable that both Charles II. and James II. were regularly concerned as stockholders in the great English slave-trading company. In the meantime, the Portuguese had acquired by far the larger part of the business. In 1715, the great English slave-trading company acquired the monopoly of the trade with the Spanish colonies, agreeing to deliver 144,000 Negroes within thirty years. In this enterprise, Queen Anne of England owned a quarter interest, and King Philip V. of Spain a second quarter. The contract and undertaking came to an end in 1739, because of the war with Spain. In the hundred and six years from 1680 to 1786, nearly or quite two and a half millions of Negroes were brought as slaves to British America. The English slave-trade ports were Liverpool, London, Bristol, and Lancaster. In 1775, one hundred and ninety-two ships were engaged in the traffic. The greater English companies were the *Royal African* and the *South Sea*, and there were many private adventurers. Of European factories in Africa, engaged in the slave-trade, there were then about forty: Dutch, fifteen; English, fourteen; Portuguese, four; Danish, four; French, three. But it appears that the English did more than half of all the business. It is a conservative estimate to express the total receipts of the Atlantic slave-trade of the English at half a billion dollars. Small wonder, then, that the Royal African Company controlled the politics of the West Indies.

Before this awful business had begun, central Africa was a savage land, and slavery was common.

But the new, great market turned the Dark Continent into a blood-red bedlam of cruelty, greed, and terror. Villages were surprised and burned in the night that the escaping wretches might be seized when helpless. Wars were waged solely to take captives. The stronger tribes fell upon the weaker, and whole districts were depopulated. And for what gain? That the man-stealers and the slave-breeders might have the "goods" of European civilization. For that, Africa was set back a thousand years. It is a low estimate to suppose that of every hundred natives stolen or sold, by their masters or parents, twenty died or were killed before the African coast was reached, certainly fifteen died during the "middle passage," five died in harbor at Jamaica, and five more before the survivors were actually at work as slaves in New York or Virginia or South Carolina. Acclimatization usually killed a third of these within the first or second year. Only the best survived; and it is fair to add, their children in America showed often no slight improvement over their parents.

The total result was that where Africa lost a hundred people, America gained but forty. Nor does this fearful loss take into consideration the children who died in Africa because their parents were torn from them. It is all a terrible story beside which, the Spanish Inquisition and the Dutch, French, and German wars seem comparatively pardonable. Of the horrors of the "middle passage," it is needless to write. They have been the theme of many a page in history and literature. The guilt of the slave-traders appears less black when we remember their ignorance,

for they seldom set out upon a voyage without first having their horoscope cast by astrologers. Beneath that sweltering vertical sun upon the African coast and the middle Atlantic, the white men suffered terribly from the stench of the slave-ships. They, like beasts, were preying upon their fellows. It was warfare, disguised as trade, and ornamented by the bright golden "guinea" of the Guinea and Gold coasts. From that warfare of man against man, the twentieth century has not altogether escaped, as many a factory, many a sweat-shop, many a stock exchange, many a house of prostitution and den of vice testifies. Nothing can make the love of gold anything but accursed. Greed is always more terrifying in its awfulness than even bigotry and hatred and ambition, for being without love or hate, it denies human brotherhood.

We hear so much in American history of slavery and of the domestic slave-trade in the period just before the War of Secession that we often fail to remember the eighteenth century as the characteristic century of slavery and the general slave-trade. Moreover, we often fail to see that the slavery of the Negroes in the colonies was a far more wicked and inhuman slavery than that of our national period. Vital statistics prove this. Despite the importation of a million Negroes (the estimates vary decidedly) in the eighteenth century, of whom more than a half came before 1760, the total number of Negroes here was, as we have seen, but two hundred and seventy-six thousand. The death-rate was far greater than the birth-rate. As plain matter of fact, the colonists bought their slaves

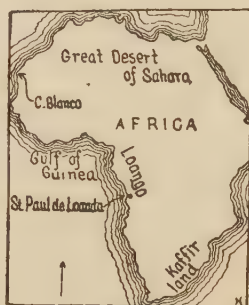
**Growth of
Negro
Population**

exactly as they bought their horses and cows. The number of the male Negroes was much greater than that of the female, and marriage was very uncommon. It was cheaper to buy blacks full grown than to breed them. Besides, these dangerous children of the Old World, like wild animals, themselves shrank from bringing offspring into a life of captivity. The great fact stares the historian in the face: a hundred thousand, and not many more, voluntary European immigrants had increased in a century and a half to a million and a quarter, while more than half a million of compulsory African immigrants were represented by but half that number. In the meantime, horses and cattle multiplied. Were the "good old times" really good?

This question may be answered in part by a brief account of the status of the slave in our colonies. In nearly all of them, for the entire colonial period, he was personal property, and title passed from owner to owner by bill of sale. Occasionally, title passed without the formality of bill of sale, just as clothing and potatoes passed from buyer to seller. For several decades in Virginia, a slave was real estate and passed by deed. As such, his hope of freedom by manumission was even less than when he was held as chattel personal. The Negro was a slave for life, and his children inherited his condition. Here came in a knotty problem. By the English common law, a child inherited the condition of the father. Was the child of the black slave by a white father, or even by a black freeman, to be slave or free? Few black women were married; nor was the paternity of

their children always known. The greed that developed the slave-trade caused the colonists to abandon the common law and to adopt the Roman principle, *Partus sequitur ventrum* (the child follows the mother). The blacks came from various parts of Africa through a thousand miles of latitude from Cape Blanco to Loango St. Paul's. Some were very black, some were red-brown, some were yellow, and not a few were fairly attractive in personal appearance. The Negro woman who found favor in the eyes of a white man had no tradition of the lifelong monogamy of her ancestors to give her any European ideas of chastity, and mulattoes began to be common. That virtue of racial sex-purity, which in the seventeenth century had prevented the intermixture of Indians and Englishmen, began to disappear; and thousands annually were born to slavery whose fathers were white men, either free or redemptioners. This condition came to be, particularly, because the Negro men were sent into the fields to work (in certain colonies, masters were forbidden to require their slaves to work over fifteen hours a day in summer, and fourteen in winter) while the women were kept at domestic labor in or about the house.

Ethnologists have proposed an hypothesis that man originated upon the littoral of the ancient sea that stretched from Greenland to New Zealand, and that the yellow race originated upon the northeast littoral, while



Racial
Origin

the black and the white originated upon the south-west littoral. Upon this hypothesis, the Mediterranean race preceded all the European and African stocks. Whether this hypothesis be true or false, it is an easily discerned fact that the racial antipathy between German or Latin or Berber and Ethiopian or Negro is less than that between any white and yellow peoples. The Negro is probably a degenerate stock of the Mediterranean race whose first great



empire was Egypt; and the causes of his inferiority have been two,—climate and isolation. The true Negro has inhabited for probably six and perhaps ten thousand years the lands west and south of the Mountains of the Moon. It is an interesting observation of the anthropologists and ethnologists that in appearance, in language, in institutions, in ideas, the African peoples north of these mountains differ far more from one another than do the peoples south. North Africa has been inhabited much longer than South Africa, and has been invaded by many foreign stocks. In American history, the two striking facts

regarding the Negroes are that our greatest importations of them were of the most inferior varieties (the swamp-peoples rather than the handsome hill-peoples), and that the Negroes have affected us negatively and reflexively rather than positively and actively. They gave to the "Anglo-Saxons" opportunities to develop their worst qualities.

The Negroes were imported into America in their youth. The age limits for males were from twelve to thirty, for females from ten to twenty-two. These Negro girls were at their most pleasing age. They had no knowledge of motherhood; most of their babies, pure-blooded or mulatto, died at birth or in early infancy; they were denied the instruction even of the older women of their own race. The death of these young Negro women in childbirth was very common. As for the males, in polygamous Africa, of necessity, many men never had wives; and the Negro men in America did not usually aspire to marriage. It was, moreover, a feature of Negro slavery in the colonies that marriage, in the European sense, never took place. Even in Massachusetts, where a form of marriage for slaves was devised, the so-called sacrament especially declared that the marriage was at an end whenever either party to it was sold out of the neighborhood of the other.

In addition to the knotty problem as to whether the blood of a white freeman made the mulatto child free, there was another quite as disturbing. Negro slavery was originally justified (the immortal Hawkins with his slave-ship, the *Jesus*, declared it) upon the ground that it led to the evangelization of the blacks. But, these people

Children

Christians

of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries asked, was it right for one Christian to hold another in bondage? Were not the white men and the black brothers in Christ? The logic appeared so inexorable that, in nearly all colonial communities, the families that saw fit to follow it and to teach the colored people of even their own households anything whatever except how to work were considered public enemies. Converting blacks to the "true religion" became a social offense. Baptizing them Christians, however, without giving them instruction was permissible.

Finally, manumission was made very difficult. In most of the colonies, before a slave could be set free, **Manumission** the master must make a public declaration of intent and must secure the permission of the governing authorities; and in certain of them the freedman was required to leave the colony within six months. This was required partly to prevent masters from manumitting old or sick slaves to be a charge upon the public. Such were their ingratitude and greed that but for this law, the masters would have practised this fraud. Old and sick slaves were often whipped or starved to death. In short, the door of hope was shut in the face of the black man, whether he came from a line of kings or, as was several hundred times more likely, from a line of African slaves.

A mere enumeration of certain of the black man's disabilities as a slave shows the helplessness of his **Disabilities** lot. In South Carolina, a slave could be condemned to death by a justice who had heard the testimony of three freeholders. In

special cases, the testimony of two slaves sufficed. No Negro could trade with a white man. The slave could not leave his master's plantation without a pass. Six or more Negroes could not be brought together for labor save in the care of a white overseer. Sundays, fast-days, and "holy-days," Negroes must stay at home, whether they had passes or not. A Negro slave who happened to possess a horse or cow was liable to have it taken away and sold for the benefit of the poor of the parish. Seven or more Negroes committed a crime by walking together upon the highroad. No slave could hire out his time, even with his master's consent. He could not rent a farm. Earning by wages or business the money to purchase freedom was impossible in South Carolina, as in most of the other colonies. The fine in South Carolina for giving a Negro any instruction was a hundred pounds. In old age, the master must care for the slave, giving him one outfit of clothes every year. But the worn-out victim of the rice- or indigo-culture had little chance of living beyond forty, which was considered very old indeed.

The value of these persons, of the color and sometimes of the very stock of that Simon of Cyrene who bore the cross of the Master to Calvary, was from ten to fifty pounds. In exceptional cases, such as that of a well-trained mechanic or of a handsome domestic, the value rose as high as a hundred pounds. The standard price of a twenty-year-old boy at Newport was thirty pounds. For such a Negro, the slaver paid, upon the Gold Coast, about a hundred gallons of rum, worth ten pounds. The ships used in the slave-trade were

Prices

sixty or seventy-five feet long, cost five or six hundred pounds to build, and could land in America more than a hundred Negroes. A crew of a dozen



men could easily manage ship and cargo. The comparative value of black men, white men, sheep, horses, and cattle may be taken from these significant figures: a "likely" Negro, still young, thirty pounds; a white bond-servant's time, full seven years to run, fifteen pounds; a good horse twelve pounds; a young milch cow six pounds;

and sheep three or four for a pound. In New England, to be the owner of a few slaves was to be a rich man and to have social distinction. In the Middle Colonies, to own slaves was to be one of the ordinarily prosperous farmers or merchants. In the Southern Colonies, not to own slaves was to be poor and socially discredited. Therefore, in the South, as we shall see, began the western migration.

In the "neglected period" of American history, that is, the period from 1683 to 1760, the vast and portentous fact of colonial slavery has been more neglected than many a minor matter. It serves largely to explain the growth of the various colonies. To return now to the table (pp. 7 and 8) that displays the statistical facts of the first six decades of the seventeenth century, let us examine the comparative increases.

Summary of Colonial Populations

To New Hampshire came but few blacks and

perhaps even fewer whites by immigration, but the colony increased over seven times. The occupations of the men were chiefly the sea fisheries, lumbering, and garden-culture. Evidently the women were bringing up large families. Massachusetts showed the effects of strong government that encouraged enterprise. Her total gain was exceeded only by the gains of Pennsylvania and Delaware, of Virginia, and of the Carolinas taken together. Despite her climate and soil, her gain in whites alone equaled that of any other colony, save Pennsylvania. Her men were fishers, sailors, and merchants. The population of Rhode Island increased six times, and her total gain was very great, in proportion to her small area. Her Newport trade was immensely profitable both to herself and to Massachusetts. It paid to exchange rum and molasses for black men. Like Rhode Island, Connecticut had a very liberal government, but she was pocketed between Newport and New York and behind Long Island. However, her climate and soil were better than those of any other New England colony, and her total gain in population was very large. Her Negro population was notably small. She was the agricultural colony of New England. New York, whose people were mostly upon Long Island, gained nearly as many blacks as all New England, but her total gain, despite her great sea-trade, was comparatively small. New Jersey was mainly agricultural. The increase and the per cent. of increase in the population of Pennsylvania reflected at once the values of an easy government, of good soil, and of a peaceful, and not too enterprising people. The growth of this colony

was the great phenomenon of the first six decades of the century. To it, systematically supported white immigration had contributed much. There were more free Negroes in Pennsylvania than in any other colony. Maryland made a prodigious gain, when the extent of her territory is considered, but a third of it was by purchase of blacks. Her government rested lightly upon the people, of whom, as of the Pennsylvanians, we may say, "Happy is the people that have no history." Many circumstances seemed to favor Virginia, but her total gain in white population was exceeded by that of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut in the North and that of the Carolinas in the South. To offset this, we must remember that Virginia received no very large number of white immigrants. The black cloud was already over her. As for the Carolinas, particularly South Carolina, their destinies were already set for them. In South Carolina, there were three male Negroes (adult) for every white man. Already, this colony was a market to absorb slaves. It was not to become a breeding-pen, but was then, as always, a slaughter-pen. A big Negro could last five or eight years in the rice swamps, and cruelty was the first quality demanded in an overseer.

Such, in numbers, were the colonial people who were making ready for union and for revolution. The forces that separated them were strong. They were making the character out of which was to grow the colonial patriotism that finally became nationalism. Its essential common element was the individual independence of the free men.

CHAPTER III

GEORGIA

1732-1774

WHILE the princes and nobles, bankers, and great merchants of England were forming and developing joint-stock companies by which to trade rum for men in Africa and to sell them into America at a great profit, the ordinary business people of the island kingdom were devising means by which to get something out of nothing; that is, money out of insolvent debtors. In the days of the Stuarts, of William and Mary, and of the early Hanoverians, it was rather worse to be a white Englishman with more liabilities than quick convertible assets than to be a black African with manacles about his legs. The slave had the reasonable certainty of food and of fresh air, the poor debtor had the unreasonable certainty of insufficient food and of foul air in jail, often below ground. The death-rate in English prisons for poor debtors corresponded horribly with the death-rate in the "middle passage." The twentieth-century man must not blink at the history which has given him life. That same William Penn who, in 1701, implored the Pennsylvania provincials to abolish slavery, himself

**English
Debtors**

spent many a day in the debtor's prison and three full years in hiding from his creditors. The slave-trade was an interracial war between white and black; business was civil war between compatriot whites. To buy and not to pay, to borrow and not to return, was a crime whose penalty was imprisonment until the debt was paid, that is, usually imprisonment for life, unless one was ransomed by one's relatives or friends. The cause of the debt made no difference. He who borrowed upon a hundred-pound note and got but fifty pounds was as much a criminal, if he failed to pay, as though usury never existed.

In the early years of the eighteenth century, the population of England was about seven million, of whom one fifth were supported at public
Social expense, mostly in poorhouses. London
Conditions had seven hundred thousand people, and the annual death-rate was higher than the birth-rate. Seats in Parliament were advertised for sale, and were restricted to landowners. Parliament always sat with closed doors, and corruption was the order of the times. The Church was almost dead; the bishops and rectors were in society and politics, the curates in poverty and neglect. The people were largely heathen, and "Christian" was written with a small "c," for Christ was unremembered or unknown. Even nonconformity had lost its ardor. Yet the first thirty years of the century was an era of substantial prosperity and of advance in government and in general business. In these years, James Edward Oglethorpe grew to manhood and to wisdom, a gentleman and a soldier, of whose career, in America and out of it, every American may speak with pride.

Oglethorpe was the last of the great founders of colonies; the last, but one of the best, a man worthy to be named with Smith, Bradford, Winthrop, Leonard Calvert, and Penn.

James Oglethorpe, founder of the thirteenth English colony, Georgia, one of the thirteen original States of the Union, was born in 1698, early went to Corpus Christi College, then **Oglethorpe** to the wars of the famous Prince Eugene of Savoy, fighting against the Turks at Belgrade, and in the year 1732, when his colonial enterprise took shape, was a member of Parliament (for Haslemere, Surrey), in which indeed he sat for thirty-two years, and was recognized by all as a fine soldier and a patriot. He had served in Parliament as chairman of a committee to investigate prisons, and had conceived the idea that among the prisoners for debt were many who, given a chance in the New World, would justify any efforts spent upon them. Moreover, upon the Continent, he had seen many Protestant victims of religious persecutions. These, too, he thought, deserved a chance to better their lot in the world. Finally, in his philanthropic soul, there was warm sympathy for unsuccessful people, "down on their luck." Of these three classes, he proposed to make a colony. As a soldier, he saw the need of occupying strongly the lands lying north of Florida so as to prevent any future encroachments by the Spaniards. His scheme, therefore, was both philanthropic and military, as befitted the times.

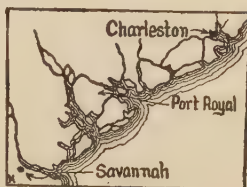
The scene of the proposed enterprise of Oglethorpe was the region lying between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers. The region had been

frequently visited. The Frenchman, Ribault, many years before had described it most enthusiastically, giving many details of landscape, trees, flowers, animals, birds. De Soto had entered it. The Spaniards had frequently traversed its fields and forests. Indeed, as late as 1670, and probably as late as 1690, they were still working the gold and silver mines of the Appalachians. The English had a military post upon Cumberland island at the mouth of the river St. Mary and a fort at the confluence of the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers. There had been several grants of the region, but none of the grantees had taken and maintained effective possession; though one of them, Sir Robert Montgomery, who held his patent from the Lords Proprietors of the Carolinas, pronounced the land "the most delightful country in the Universe," and made great efforts, between 1717 and 1720, to secure settlers. After the last of the Carolina proprietors, Carteret, had surrendered his claim to the colonies, in 1732, the opportunity was open to Oglethorpe to push his project. Already, the "Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America" had been organized, and to them Carteret conveyed his interest in both jurisdiction and ownership of the soil in the region of the grant from the Crown to the trustees. The name was in honor of George II., not the worst of the Hanoverians, whose queen, Caroline, all delight to honor.

The trustees were to receive absolutely no interest or recompense for their benevolent service. They solicited popular subscriptions for the great philanthropy, and met with a generous response. Their emigrants were carefully

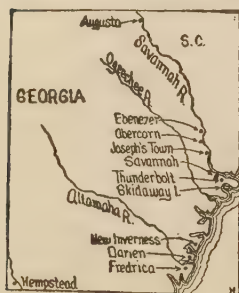
Savannah

selected by investigation of their records. The first ship, the *Anne*, bore one hundred and thirty persons, representing thirty-five families; and it gives one a fair idea of what sort of persons were confined in jail for debt, to know that the heads of these families were carpenters, bricklayers, farmers, and mechanics. The voyage was in midwinter, by way of the island of Madeira. Anchor was dropped off Charleston harbor,



January 13, 1733. The next stopping-place was Port Royal. At Yamacraw Bluff the town of Savannah was located, a fortnight later. It was a fortunate choice for shipping and for agriculture. The plain southward was high and dry. Northward was the fertile delta of the noble river. It was a land of pines live-oaks, magnolias, cypresses. Already spring was in the air. The settlers, under the leadership of Colonel Oglethorpe, made a very favorable treaty with the Yamacraw Indians, whose chief, or "mico," Tomochi-chi, deserves to be remembered with Pocahontas and Massasoit as a true friend of the white man. They were also assisted, in the early days, by the invaluable advice of Colonel William Bull, President of the South Carolina Council, and that colony was, for good reason, extremely helpful and earnest in assisting the Georgians in making a success of their enterprise. The friendship of the Carolinians and of all the neighboring Indians—the Creeks, the Cherokees, and the Uchees—made the problem of permanence far easier than that which the seventeenth-century colonists generally had to face.

Soon other settlers came,—Italians from Piedmont, to prosecute the fruitless enterprise of silkworm culture; Salzburgers from **Immigration** Berchtolsgrad, to escape from religious troubles at home; Moravians, to lead their quiet, industrious life; Highlanders, from Scotland, to found a military settlement for the protection of the colony from the Spaniards; Englishmen; Jews; German Lutherans; and lastly the so-called Scotch-Irish. The first settlers built Highgate and Hempstead, Thunderbolt, and Abercorn, and peopled Skidaway island and the Indian summer village known as Joseph's Town, all within the first year. Next year, Ebenezer was settled, to be abandoned a few years later because of the



barrenness of the sandy soil, when the people went to the confluence of Ebenezer creek and the Savannah river. Next came New Inverness in the Darien district. But the crowning effort was the establishment of town and garrison at Frederica in the delta of the Altamaha (or as it was then styled, the Alatomaha) upon the island Great St. Simon. Here Oglethorpe, the indefatigable, made his headquarters. The buildings were not of unsubstantial wood as at Savannah, the commercial emporium, but of tabby (a mixture of lime and shells or rock with water, that when dried is hard like rock). There were a fort, a water-battery, and a parade-ground. Thus substantially built and well manned, Frederica became the southern Thermopylæ of the English colonies in America.

Finally, in the northwest arose Augusta, the headquarters of the Indian trade. By the middle of the century, Georgia was a well-established colony, with nearly five thousand settlers. But in the meantime there had been no small amount of trouble in this colony that ought, apparently, to have been so prosperous and happy.

Before rehearsing these domestic and other troubles, we may properly note the later part of the admirable career of Oglethorpe. In 1738, when again in England, before setting out **The Founder in England** for Georgia, he had been made brigadier-general. In 1743, he returned finally to his home and to his seat in Parliament. In 1745, as major-general, he fought for the King against the Young Pretender. In 1775, being then seventy-seven years of age, but in full possession of his mental faculties and bodily powers, he was offered the command of all His Majesty's forces in America, but declined in no uncertain language. In 1784, he welcomed John Adams as the Minister to Great Britain from the new nation of the United States. Dying in 1785, he left an honorable name and a memorable reputation.

There were five causes that, operating together, prevented Georgia from being a wholly happy and prosperous colony. Of these, the first to be mentioned is the most obvious: its **The Colonial Condition** settlers were of various nationalities with but one general characteristic, and that characteristic an unfortunate one,—they were all failures. The debtors had failed to make a success of life; the religious refugees had been crowded down and out from their homes. There was no leaven of successful,

self-reliant men, with similar national ideas and ideals. The second cause was too much control from outside. The Trust in England was perfectly sincere but very much in advance of the times. Their legislation abundantly proved this remoteness from practical affairs. They accorded to all save Roman Catholics freedom of religious worship (but in 1732 there was nothing especially notable in that.) They prohibited the importation and sale of rum, brandy, and other distilled liquors, and, with the approval of Parliament, forbade slavery and the slave-trade. They experimented with the silk-culture, with grapes, olives, kali, barilla, hemp, and flax. All this was benevolent paternalism, and much of it was very laudable; but the people needed their own heads. The third cause was climate with the serious problem of acclimatization. Those who travel about for brief visits only, do not understand this. Climatic effects, often for a time baleful, even in the case of an essentially good climate, are not felt until the second or third year; and the Georgia seacoast climate was very hard for Englishmen and Germans to endure. Fevers were common, and the death-rate was high. A fourth cause was the struggle with Spain in the years 1740 to 1742. Its history is recounted later in this narrative. A fifth cause that operated against the welfare and contentment of the Georgia colonists was the large measure of communism in the enterprise, with the passing of land by fee-tail-male, the universal system of tenancy, rather than land in fee simple, and the general poverty of the colonists in respect to private possessions. Oglethorpe personally was very generous, the

trustees secured liberal funds,—Parliament granted ten thousand pounds in 1734 and twenty-six thousand pounds later,—and no one lacked for any of the necessities of life. Yet, in fact, all lacked one essential,—inspiration by emulation, because practically none of the colonists were men of private means, as so many had been in Massachusetts and Virginia, after 1630. There were no nuclei of private enterprise. But for the famous visit of Tomochi-chi and the Indians to England, but for the coming of the martial Highlanders, and but for the visits of the Wesleys and of Whitefield, colonial life was mechanical, depressing, and unrelieved by variety of incident. All these causes combined to lead the colonists to ask for a change of government. In 1752, the colony formally passed into the hands of the Crown (a provincial assembly had been called in 1751), and as a royal colony her history and her society became similar to those of South Carolina. Her boundaries had been the Savannah, the ocean, the Altamaha, and “from the headwaters of the rivers directly west to the South Sea.” (To this grand province was added also the land between the St. Mary’s and the Altamaha rivers.) What did the people immediately do with their democratic administration of the “ideal commonwealth”?

The first steps of Georgian democracy were to license the trade in distilled liquors and in Negroes, and to employ Negroes as slaves, of whom, even in 1752, there were a thousand in the colony by hire from South Carolina without legal authorization. The first royal governor was John

Prosperity

Reynolds, appointed in 1754. He was soon succeeded by Henry Ellis. In 1760, Sir James Wright became governor, and so remained until the War of Independence. Under the new government, the colony prospered financially; its exports grew from thirty thousand pounds' value in 1754, to two hundred thousand pounds' value in 1770. Such were the immediate economic fruits of fee simple in land and of Negro slavery. The colonists under Wright raised rice in the seacoast swamps and marshes, and also indigo, a new venture, and exported large quantities of lumber. By 1770, the colony had grown to seventy thousand people, a gain due in part to purchases of slaves, in part to growth by natural increase in population, and in part to "secondary colonization" from other British settlements. The modes of fashionable life were the Virginian upon the great plantation and the South Carolinian in the city, with the latter in the ascendency. Overseers generally managed the plantations, while the planters lived as luxuriously as they could at Savannah. The tropical lesson, *dolce far niente*, had been learned, with its corollary, *Make the slave work*. The old cry of the settlers before the surrender of the trustees, *the one thing needful*, meaning Negro bondmen, had come to recite a fact, and the Negro became the foundation of the social system of Georgia. The Wesleys and their lay supporter, Habersham, had pronounced in favor of slavery, and George Whitefield had bought a Negro plantation as an endowment for his orphans' home at Savannah. The Georgians, thus supported by those who declared themselves the prophets of God, had put the Negroes

under their feet, and were themselves soon to be rent in civil and rebellious war as to whether they were to be themselves trodden under foot by the English colonial system as administered by the Tories. Such, in brief, was the outcome of the history of the colony that was inaugurated in the year of the birth of George Washington, of Virginia, who was to fight for the principle that colonial Englishmen must not be subject even to the theoretically democratic Parliament of the mother-country. Philanthropic Georgia had surrendered to climate and to the social *milieu*. With a white population racially like that of Pennsylvania, her history for a century to come was to be almost directly the opposite of that of the northern colony and State.

CHAPTER IV

THE WESTERN MOVEMENT OF POPULATION

1750-1774

AN important feature of the history of the seventeenth century in America was the expansion of the Puritan settlements in New England from **Expansion** Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies into New Jersey and Maryland. An important similar feature of the history of the eighteenth century was the migration of many families, sometimes of entire villages, into "the land of the western waters," the land of the rivers that flow into the Mississippi or into its tributaries. In the second half, and particularly in the fourth quarter, of the eighteenth century, western New York, western Pennsylvania, western Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee began to be occupied. Only the beginning of this movement may properly be recounted in this narrative, ending as it does with the year 1774. But the beginning was significant of a vital principle of American character: *Always seek the better.* Change the bad for the good, and the good for the best,—this is a principle practically unknown among Oriental peoples, and to its realization, the European common peoples do not yet dare to aspire. The

early pioneers did not look covetously over their neighbors' fences—not at all. They looked away from all fences into the free woods. They sought the best soils and climates and hunting.

It is not possible to say exactly when the western migration began. It certainly was not caused by what we have called "congested populations." To this day, there is waste land within a dozen miles of the gilded dome of the Massachusetts State House and large tracts of land within thirty miles of the New York City Hall are uncultivated. "High rents" do not serve to explain the westward movement, for even in the proprietary colonies, the lords proprietors charged but a penny an acre and often failed to get that. Everywhere, land in fee simple was very cheap, even when it was not absolutely free. Nor in the third quarter of the eighteenth century had game (which meant free food) ceased to be abundant in tide-water Virginia and upon the New England seashore.

Other forces than these, or such as these, were at work. A climate that makes people fretful and nervous was one of these forces. The second and third generations of colonials had begun to show the effects of the American climate. The fourth and fifth generations, represented here and there in Virginia, New York, and New England, began to develop the pioneers who must be upon the move. Another force was that of hereditary unrest. Their forefathers had left England or Sweden or Holland: they, too, perhaps ought to break loose and try their fortunes in a new land. In those days, a two or three hundred-miles' journey

**The Moving
Forces**

meant leaving home, perhaps never to see it again. Still another force was simple and pure jealousy or envy. The pioneers who went West often moved in order to escape seeing daily the men who had prospered beyond others or whose fathers had. The pioneers would forget these fortunate persons and try again elsewhere. The last force, and doubtless by far the most powerful, was racial instability.



Most of the pioneers were of Teutonic stock. A large number of them were Scotch-Irish. Now the so-called Scotch-Irish were neither Scotch nor Irish, but Saxons who had moved to the north of England and to the south of Scotland to serve

as a buffer-community for the English against the Picts and the Scots, and who had crossed over to Ireland in the days of English conquest. Some of them, still of pure Teutonic blood, had returned to England or had gone to Scotland in the days of Irish oppression. Very few of them were Catholics. They were not scholarly or bookish or patient like the Scotch and English, and they were not emotional like the Irish. They were simply Saxons who had never enjoyed the advantages or suffered the disadvantages of city culture, of economic prosperity, and of association with superior peoples. Their migration to America began before 1750, and soon affected Vermont, western New York, western Pennsylvania, western Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, for few

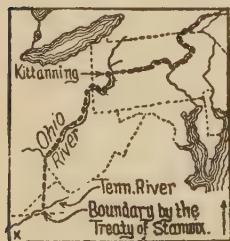
of them lingered in the cities and towns of the coast. They were a genuine country folk. Most of them did not immigrate to this country until after the War of Independence, but the statistician who closely defines the various stocks of the American people of to-day knows that more of the Scotch-Irish have come to America than of the pure Anglo-Saxons who never saw Scotland or Ireland. A clear plurality of the American people are either pure Scotch-Irish or have more of that blood than of any other, a fact due partly to their generous families in this land, the first in which they have been prosperous.

The first great pioneer in American history, however, was of purely English blood, George Washington. It is perhaps fairer to style Washington the great path-breaker for **The Leading Pioneers** pioneers rather than a pioneer himself, for the true pioneer went West and stayed there. Daniel Boone perfectly represented the type. Others whose names are memorable, and whose story must be told in these pages, were James Robertson, the pioneer of Tennessee, and John Sevier, the pioneer of eastern Tennessee, all contemporaries of more famous and more picturesque pioneers of Kentucky, the "dark and bloody ground" which even the Indians dared not inhabit before the coming of the whites. These four men, more than all others, made the path across the Appalachian mountains plain for settlers to follow. To them may profitably be added William Johnson, like Washington a path-breaker for pioneers. These men did for "the land of the western waters" what John Smith and Myles Standish did for the Atlantic coast,—mapped out the region

and fought the native Indians to a standstill long enough to permit the Europeans to get a foothold. They did what Champlain did for the French in Canada,—took military possession. But Boone, Robertson, and Sevier did actually more; they literally obeyed the Old Testament text, and “went up into the land to possess it,” and there they abode. When American history gets into its right proportions, we shall hear a great deal of such makers of our democratic empire, for in “the land of the western waters” Americanism grew from infancy to manhood. It was born upon the Atlantic coast.

We may credit to George Washington as the surveyor, and to him as the soldier, the boundary line fixed by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix between the Six Nations and the colonies.

Washington This boundary ran from the eastern part of the Tennessee river to the Ohio, along it and the Alleghany, then across from Kittanning to the west branch of the Susquehanna, along that and its west branch, and then to the Delaware, ending at the confluence of the Canada and Wood creeks. Northwest of that line, the Indians ruled; southeast of it, the colonials, held possession. Such was the state of affairs in



1768. We may review briefly what Washington and others had done to secure so great an increase of area for the English colonies. Washington had entered upon his work as a surveyor of western lands as early as 1748, when he was but sixteen years of age. But even he had been preceded by others.

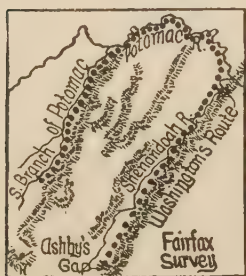
In 1716, Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, had attempted an expedition to the Mississippi river. His party went into the region that is now western Virginia, ascending by the Rappahannock and descending by the Shenandoah.

**The Earliest
Pioneering**

In 1732, the Pennsylvanians completed the famous "three days' walk." In 1682, Penn had bought of the Indians as much land west of the Schuylkill as he could walk over in three days. He walked, in a leisurely way, for a day and a half and then set up a temporary boundary. At this time, the French held seventy-five per cent. of the area of the North American continent, the Spanish sixteen per cent., and the English but four; and the French were allied with the Indians to resist the westward movement of the English. The French held the interior waterways, as is told later in this narrative. Between the two rival nations, rose the great fortress of the Appalachians, range on range, from Lake Champlain to within three hundred miles of the Gulf of Mexico. And the grand escarpment of the Appalachian plateau fronted the Atlantic coast. The westward-moving adventurers must find passes through the mountains. These passes were along the rivers, the deer-paths, and the Indian trails. To conquer the mountains was an enterprise worthy of the Teutonic race.

The advance of the colonials was slow, for they were taking permanent possession, clearing farms, building mills, setting out villages. Over against these villages that lay east of the crest of the Appalachians stretched a line of twenty-two forts, from Quebec to the Gulf, lying west of the mountains. The people of the villages were to make war upon the

people of the forts, and to defeat them in the memorable years that ended with the English-French treaty of 1763. And this war was the outcome partly of the adventures of George Washington, pioneer surveyor. In 1748, he had set out, with George Fairfax six,



years his senior, to survey the Fairfax lands. He crossed the Blue Ridge by Ashby's Gap into the Shenandoah valley, ascended the Potomac, went some seventy miles up the south branch, and did the work of surveying so well that upon his return he was made public sur-

veyor. In that work, he spent three years of comparatively free life in the wilderness, getting his growth physically and mentally. Upon his first journey, Washington had found a party of illiterate Germans camped in the wilderness.

After his winter in the West Indies (where he had the smallpox), 1752, Washington, young as he was, soon became the leader in the work of western settlement, for he inherited the wealth and the position of his half-brother Lawrence, who died in the summer of the same year. Lawrence had been president of the Ohio Company, which was organized to promote settlement in the valley of that great tributary of the Mississippi. In October, 1753, Washington, not yet twenty-two years of age, set out, with that bold and experienced frontiersman, Christopher Gist, to visit the French forts upon the Ohio. The rest of this story, both of Washington and of the English-French conflict, properly belongs in the military division

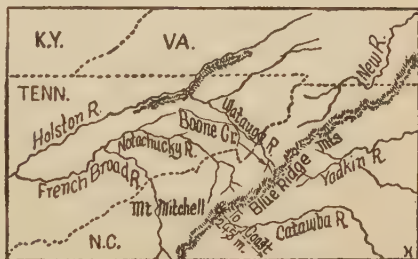
of this narrative, where it will be found duly recorded. But the war did not put an end to the steady, persistent winning of the way to the West by the settlers of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Only a few made the adventure, but these few were the forerunners of the many that were to come later.

It was not until the year 1760 that any other man became sufficiently important in western pioneering to justify an account of his adventures in this necessarily brief narrative. In that

Boone

year, Daniel Boone, then twenty-five years of age, to use the words carved upon a tree, perhaps by himself, "Killed a bear on this tree in the year 1760." This beech tree is still standing upon Boone's creek, a branch of the Wa-

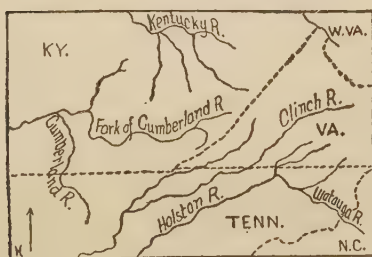
tauga. Within a few miles of the very spot is the eastern crest of the Continent, from which flow the waters of the New river to reach the Ohio, of



the Watauga to reach the Tennessee, and of the Yadkin to reach the Great Pedee and the Atlantic. Less than forty miles south is Mount Mitchell, the highest point upon the eastern half of the Continent (6688 ft.). The nearest point upon the Atlantic is over two hundred and fifty miles away. Here the average elevation of the Blue Ridge is four thousand feet. North was a corner of Virginia, and beyond that lay Kentucky, the battle-ground of Indian

tribes for many generations. West were the Holston mountains and the Holston river, as memorable in the history of the West as is the James river in the history of the East. Here begins "the land of the western waters," for the Watauga and the Holston, the French Broad and the New rivers all flow finally into the great Mississippi, "the Father of Waters." Here begins the romance of the conquest of the forest, of the wild animals, of the Indian, of the French, and of fate itself, by the pioneers of the ax, the rifle, and the birch-bark canoe.

Boone himself came from southeastern Pennsylvania, emigrating early with his father to North



Carolina. In 1769, he led a party of six men into Kentucky, then called "no-man's-land." Climbing mountains in that glorious wilderness of "the land of the sky,"

fording streams on foot, with rifles and packs to carry and no paths to follow, they reached the Cumberland river and at length "the blue-grass country." They found buffalo, elk, deer, bears, wolves, panthers, turkeys, squirrels, partridges, in that rich hunting-ground. There Boone's brother joined him, and they two remained in Kentucky all winter, while the other men went home. In the spring of 1771, Daniel Boone was at home once more upon the Yadkin river, with many adventures to recite, including capture by the Indians and escape. In 1773, he was again in Kentucky, and in 1774, he

conducted a band of surveyors to the Falls of the Ohio where Louisville now stands. By this time, his own family, with several others, was living in the dangerous but beautiful land; but Boonesboro itself was not built until 1775.



James Robertson was another settler of North Carolina, who, like Boone, was to become the founder of a commonwealth. Seven years younger than the more famous pioneer, in 1760 he was already upon the Watauga. Ten years later, he decided to follow Boone across the mountains. Alone, he made his way beyond the Great Smoky range to a spot where there were already a few white settlers. There he remained long enough to raise a crop of corn to eke out the living he made with his rifle. In 1771, he convoyed thither a party of sixteen families. Soon, several Virginians joined them upon their island in the Watauga. It is significant of the culture of these pioneers that in the next three years Robertson was taught by his wife to read and write. As Anderson got his land title from the Cherokees, so Robertson secured his also from them by the exploit of going alone quietly to their main village in the South, at a time when they were especially infuriated by the murder of an Indian at the hands of lawless whites in a neighboring settlement. Such were the bold beginnings of Tennessee

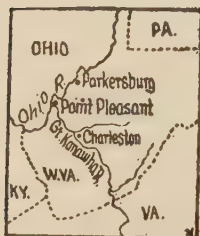
Robertson

John Sevier, founder of east Tennessee, was another of these heroes of "the land of the western waters." Born in Virginia, as

Sevier

Robertson had been, and younger by three years, he

was the son of a French Huguenot, and was highly educated. He reached the Watauga in 1769, and soon became renowned as an Indian fighter and a



most politic adjuster of backwoods difficulties between settlers. In that great battle at Point Pleasant, 1774, when a thousand Virginians were attacked at daybreak by a larger body of Indians, Sevier was conspicuous. The battle showed the true nature of the struggle between the "intel-

lectual wild men" of the forests and fields and the civilized men of the villages and seashore. The battle occurred upon the Great Kanawha river near its junction with the Ohio. The Indian leaders were Cornstalk and Logan. The struggle lasted all day, and a fifth of the combatants were killed or mortally wounded; but the end was a victory for the whites.

From this superb "land of the sky" we may turn our attention to that interesting character, Sir William Johnson, of the Mohawk valley, New York. We may call him a pioneer and a path-breaker for pioneers. Johnson was an Irishman, doubtless of English descent, who, in 1738, abandoned his native country because of an unhappy love affair. Then twenty-three years of age, he undertook the management of the New World property of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren. This property consisted of lands located in the Mohawk valley. There, at a point twenty-five miles west of Schenectady, he began a systematic Indian trade. Not long afterwards, he consoled his wounded heart

by marrying Mary, a sister of Brant, the famous Indian chief. He became colonial superintendent of Indian affairs and held the Six Nations faithful to the English during the intercolonial and Indian wars. In 1754, he became a Mohawk sachem, and in 1755, the King made him a knight. After the treaty of 1763, he was given a hundred thousand acres of land north of the Mohawk river. In the meanwhile, this man of the susceptible heart had married also a German woman, and with his two wives, his eight half breed and his two white children lived happily in Johnson Hall. He died in 1774, at Johnstown, New York. Such was the man who made the Mohawk valley inhabitable by the whites, who introduced blooded sheep and horses into northern New York, and who broke the way for thousands of others to follow.



By these men and such as these, the several great ways to the West were opened up. All of them had one great virtue, courage, and one ambition, independence. Self-reliance was their common characteristic. They were picturesque figures even in their own times. Their lives were a protest against much that we call civilization. They felt crowded out by luxury, by slavery, by routinism, by favoritism, by heritage, by privilege, by business, by prejudice. Upon the long crest of the Appalachians, they first saw the sun rise in the east, with its tale of the new day. From their high view-point, they were the last to see the sun set in the west, with its call, "Follow me into the golden land of hope." Over their heads stood the star of the

The West

American empire that the pioneers were winning, and the star moved westward as they moved. Soon from every little eastern village, one and another must venture forth. To the young men and to the young women in all the colonies, the voice was about to speak, "As your fathers crossed the sea, do you also cross the mountains." Before fifty years of their lifetime should pass, great States were to appear beyond the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies. And, as we shall see in the next volume of this narrative, to the few pioneers was to be due the glory of securing for the new nation all the land from the Appalachians to the great Mississippi.

CHAPTER V

COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS

1697-1774

IN the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, there were, in America, three somewhat different kinds of colonial governments,—the charter, the royal, and the proprietary. **Three Kinds** Their differences must not be unduly magnified; they did not control the course of colonial history, though they did affect it considerably. All the colonial governments were similar in form; and in all of them there was much of the liberty of self-government. The charter colonies were Rhode Island and Connecticut, both in southern New England. The royal colonies were New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, and North and South Carolina. The proprietary colonies were Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania; the two latter were under one governor, and all three were in the middle region. The governors of the republican charter colonies were elected by the people from among themselves. The governors of the proprietary and royal colonies were imposed upon them from without. Massachusetts was a charter colony with a royal governor, and may be called a royal charter colony. About

the middle of the century, Georgia, a proprietary colony, became a royal colony. In the proprietary colonies the people were both tenants and subjects. The double relation doubled the points of conflict. In the royal colonies, they were subjects only. In the charter colonies, they were freemen.

In most of the colonies there were two legislative bodies,—a council and an assembly. These were variously constituted, but the minor differences are interesting only to the special student of political science. The important facts regarding council and assembly were that the former was almost always aristocratic and senatorial in character and disposition, while the latter was usually democratic and representative. The council always had judicial and executive functions and powers. Its members stood close to the governor, performing many of the duties of the secretaries and treasurers of the modern American State. The great significance of the colonial government, with its bicameral legislature and other features, was in the fact that it was not so much the prototype as the immediate parent of the State government of the present time. There was nothing in the English colonial system corresponding with our federation or union of States, but the foundations of everything else that is characteristic of our governments—State, County, Town—were laid in the colonial period. This was especially true of the royal colonies, of which we may take Virginia as the type.

At the middle of the eighteenth century, Virginia had a royal governor appointed by the Crown, a council, and a house of burgesses. Generally the

members of the council were decidedly subservient to the governor; but this was not always the case, as a little incident, in which that able man, Alexander Spotswood, figured, abundantly shows. In 1718, writing to the English Lords of Trade, the angry governor said:

A Royal
Colony

“When in Order to the Solemnizing his Maj’ty’s Birth-day, I gave a publick Entertainment at my House, all gent’n that would come were Admitted; These Eight Counsellors would neither come to my House nor go to the Play w’ch was acted on that occasion, but got together all the Turbulent and disaffected Burg’s’s, had an Entertainment of their own in the Burg’s House and invited all y^e Mobb to a Bonfire, where they were plentifully Supplied with Liquors to Drink the same healths without as their M’rs did within, w’ch were chiefly those of the Council and their associated Burg’s, without taking any [more?] Notice of the Gov’r, than if there had been none upon the place.”

Yet it was the same man saying this who upon his coming to Virginia, eight years before, and upon his being presented by the burgesses with the sum of two thousand pounds, to build a “Governor’s Palace ” had formed so favorable an opinion of the colony that he had written home to England:

“This government is in perfect peace and tranquillity, under a due obedience to the royal authority, and a *gentlemanly conformity to the Church of England.*”

We might, indeed, pronounce this passage a delicious historical tidbit, were it not that it actually furnishes abundant food for thought. In 1716, the vigorous governor charged the house of burgesses with the fault of calculating all their proceedings

"to answer the notions of the ignorant populace (rather) than of God or any others to whom you think you owe not your Elections."

These touches of personal history lend interest to the consideration of the form of the colonial government of Virginia. This type of colony, **The County** the royal, may perhaps be better described as provincial. As first conceived, most of the British colonies were counties, as Yorkshire and Durham were counties. Captain John Mason, proprietor, described his New England grant as "my County of New Hampshire in New England." Logically, boroughs were the first subordinate divisions of the colony; and the Virginia house of burgesses represents the theory upon which these first divisions were made. Practically, the idea of Virginia as a county was early abandoned, and many counties with subordinate parishes were organized. The various representatives of the free or enfranchised people (householders and other freeholders), meeting by counties, were elected to the house of burgesses. The other legislative body, the council, was composed of persons appointed by the governor. This council was not only a senate but also a cabinet, and for a long time, in Virginia history, practically controlled all legislation, by sitting with the house of burgesses and overawing those poorer and less influential men. Even after the two houses had separate sessions, the governor secured and maintained the right to appoint the clerk of the house of burgesses. He was, therefore, always cognisant of what the popular assembly was doing or considering.

In the Old Dominion, the royal governor wielded

the power of the king, whose personal and official representative he was. He appointed the officers of the county courts, who exercised within the counties not only judicial, but also legislative powers. A county court tried civil and small criminal cases, levied taxes, built and repaired roads and bridges, granted licenses, and appointed many minor public officers. Thus, through the county justices, the governor largely controlled the course of local affairs. The county sheriffs presided over the public meetings for the election of burgesses; and since they were themselves appointed by the governor, and since the voting was done in public so that the partisanship of each man was known, the governor was a very important factor in all political affairs. Yet in practice, his control was less than it was in theory, for the spirit of independence was in the air; and, as we have seen, when he was angry at his appointees, the governor looked upon even his councilors as factious and disreputable men. It has always been a characteristic of Anglo-Saxons to regard their opponents as probably base and either anarchistic or else tyrannical.

The Governor

Subordinate to the counties were the plantations, parishes, and "cities." The "hundreds" of the seventeenth century had become mere geographical terms, or else had disappeared altogether. Of "cities," even as applied to small towns and villages, eighteenth-century Virginia had very few. The plantations represented but single families with their slaves and other servants. The parishes were the true local governing bodies. They were controlled by the self-perpetuating

The Parish

vestries; for though, in most instances, the first vestry of the parish had been elected by the voters, everywhere the vestrymen held office for life, and the survivors filled all vacancies. Beyond the care of church affairs, the chief duties of the parish vestry were to look after the poor and to act with the county court in the repair of the roads. The parishes were thus a very interesting political development, being independent oligarchic bodies, in the midst of a closely organized monarchical system, with a single democratic feature, the representative assembly with its right, jealously guarded, to originate and to fix the taxes of the colony.

How jealously Virginia guarded this popular right of levying all general taxes may be seen in an interesting discussion over the right of Parliament to levy even a postage rate (collectible from the receiver of a letter). Of this discussion, Spotswood wrote, in 1718:

“The people were made to believe that Parl’t could not Levy any Tax (for so they call y^e Rates of Postage) here without the Consent of the General Assembly, . . . because scarce any (letters) came in here but what some way or other concern’d Trade; That though M^rs should, for the reward of a penny a Letter, deliver them, the Post M^r could Demand no Postage for the Conveyance of them, and abundance more to the same purpose, as ridiculous as Arrogant.”

This letter to the Lords of Trade then goes on to explain that, though the burgesses first formally acknowledged Parliament as supreme, they had proceeded to make the enforcement of the postal rate impossible by several enactments, one of which

fined the post-carrier five pounds for trying to deliver a letter regarding trade, and another of which fined him a pound for failing to deliver letters, summer or winter, upon schedule time.

Evidently the "game of politics" was already well understood in America.

Another discussion that developed a tense situation in Virginia was over the question as to whether burgesses could serve without pay. It appears that two burgesses served for a time without accepting the regular compensation, whereupon they were expelled for "bribery." This was very unsatisfactory to the Virginians, as tending to discourage the election of poor men to the assembly. Democracy was, indeed, often in control in that house of burgesses which has been well styled "the first-born of the English Parliament." Yet never in English history have members of Parliament received pay, and only in recent times have any of them been supported even by voluntary contributions from constituents and sympathizers. Indeed, in theory the member is considered not as representing a constituency, but rather as being himself one of the "commons" of England. The transference across the sea had wrought a change that was probably due in part to the ideas and practices of the nations upon the continent of Europe.

From Virginia with its government as a royal province and its governor as the center of all important political affairs, we may turn northward to the proprietary colony of Pennsylvania. Here the governor was appointed by the Penn proprietors who intervened between the king

A Proprietary Colony

and himself. In all its political relations, the proprietary colony was more remote from Parliament and Crown than the royal colony. To Penn had been granted the right of making the laws "with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen of the said country, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates or deputies" so long as the laws that were made did not offend the laws of England. The first laws enacted were known as *The Great Law of Chester* and followed close upon the publication of the famous *Frame of Government*. The franchise was confined to landholders and taxpayers who believed in the deity of Jesus Christ. There is good evidence that Penn himself desired a more liberal suffrage. Unlike the laws of the colonies to the south, those of Pennsylvania provided that all property should be divided among the children, land was liable to be taken for personal debts, and all deeds and mortgages were to be publicly recorded. In Virginia, which followed the English rather than the enlightened and stimulating Dutch ideas, primogeniture prevailed, land passed by fee tail (not being liable, therefore, for debt), and deeds were not of record. Early Pennsylvania did but little toward the establishment of an aristocracy.

The general government of Pennsylvania was carried on by the governor, the council, and the assembly. The council took no part in legislation. All political life centered in Philadelphia; and, since this was the largest community in British America in the eighteenth century, its mode of government becomes sufficiently important to warrant a special account.

**The Largest
City**

At the time of the founding of Philadelphia, the urban communities of England were governed as boroughs. There was no political significance attaching to the term "city," by which was designated a community that was the seat of an archbishop or bishop of the Church of England. Modeling his charter upon the English plan, in 1701 Penn created a new government for the city of Philadelphia, calling the municipality "the mayor and commonalty of the city of Philadelphia." The government consisted of a mayor, eight aldermen, and twelve councilmen. The mayor was chosen from year to year by the aldermen and councilmen. The charter named the latter to hold office for life, the survivors to appoint to all vacancies. The recorder also was named in the charter to hold office for life, his successor to be chosen by the aldermen and councilmen. By this self-perpetuating, oligarchic municipal corporation, Philadelphia was governed from 1701 to 1789; and for the greater part of the time, in comparison with other considerable communities, the city was well governed.

The local government of the counties and communities of Pennsylvania combined certain features of the Virginia system, based upon counties, with various features of the Massachusetts town system. It was a compromise not unlike that adopted later by the framers of the constitutions of the States carved out of the Old Northwest, the territory between the Great Lakes and the Ohio.

The early government of the Massachusetts bay colony was a charter or republican government by which the people chose their own governor; but,

in 1689, William III. had deprived them not of the charter in its entirety but in respect to the provisions that related to the governorship.

**A Charter
Colony**

From this semi-royal condition, there resulted friction that produced both light and heat, and had not a little to do with the early movement in that colony for greater political liberty. Since Connecticut, the child of Massachusetts, never lost any of her charter rights, we may best study charter-government as represented there.

Connecticut began with towns as the basis of her political organization. Later, four counties were set off. The charter, secured some time after the beginning of her history, provided for an elected governor, a deputy governor, and twelve assistants, who, with the two deputies from each town, place, or city, were to constitute the general assembly. Over the laws enacted by the assembly, the Crown retained no right of veto. Such was the amazing liberality of the Connecticut charter of 1662, which certain grave historians sadly assure us cost five hundred pounds, spent in bribery of the courtiers of Charles II. by the illustrious John Winthrop, Junior, named in the instrument as temporary governor. And thus was constituted a more democratic England across the sea, an independent England without a king. The first general court gave the suffrage to all persons who could furnish the certificate by majority vote of their towns that they were "of a civil, peaceable, and honest conversation," twenty-one years old, and assessed for not less than twenty pounds of property. This discrimination against the landless wage-earner grew in importance as the decades passed. In 1699,

the general court became bicameral, the governor, lieutenant-governor, and assistants forming the council, and the town deputies forming the assembly. This was a further step in democracy, for the deputies always stood a little in awe of the councilors.

It was not until 1762 that all the soil within the jurisdiction of Connecticut had been allotted in townships so that thereafter all new towns must be carved out of older ones. **The Town**

The unique feature of the New England political system was, and to this day is, the democratic town meeting for deciding all public questions and electing all public officers. There democracy has been more general than, and almost as omnipotent as, it was of old in the cities by the Ægean Sea or in the folkmoets by the Baltic. The marked peculiarity of Connecticut politics, from the days of Thomas Hooker and Theophilus Eaton until now, has been the domination of the town, which antedated and produced the general government, retaining many powers and duties elsewhere granted to the commonwealth. The independence of every little town was, from the first, a reminder, an echo as it were, of the little *tuns* of ancient Germany, where every freeman was lord of allodial land and met every other freeman as an unquestioned equal. In Connecticut, appeared the first instance in America of the political doctrine of "reserved powers," which was the essence of "State sovereignty," for there it was agreed that powers not expressly granted to the general government belonged to the towns. The Connecticut colony was a federation of towns, very much as the United

States is a federation of States. How absolutely the towns controlled affairs may be seen in a few representative facts. The towns elected the constables; the constables gave notice of the times and places of the elections of the deputies to the general court; and it was expressly provided that, if the governor did not call a session of the general court, the freemen of the towns might instruct their constables to order an election. A comparison of the Connecticut constable with the Virginia sheriff displays at once the essential difference between a royal and a charter colony. Again, the towns elected all judicial officers. Here, again, do we see, in marked contrast, the methods of royal and charter colonies. Finally, from year to year the freemen balloted for what we may call "an eligible list" of candidates who were to be voted for later as governor and assistants, thus nominating as well as electing the council of higher magistrates.

That this extreme democracy did not in the least tend to revolution is abundantly evidenced by the fact that Gordon Saltonstall was governor from 1707 to 1724, Joseph Talcott from 1724 to 1741, and Jonathan Trumbull from 1769 to 1784, while Joseph Whiting was treasurer from 1679 to 1718, being succeeded by his son John, who served from 1718 to 1749. Three successive generations of the Wyllys family held the post of secretary continuously from 1712 to 1810. William Hillhouse of New London served as deputy in the general court fifty-eight years, being elected one hundred and sixteen times, for in this democratic colony the elections were semi-

**The Con-
servatism of
Democracy**

annual. George Wyllys, the colony's secretary, was also town clerk in Hartford, and served in that office just half a century. Apparently, death alone was a sufficient cause for removal from office; otherwise, doubtless not a few of these satisfactory public officers would be serving the Connecticut democracy to this day.

So important was the town in the New England political system, and especially in Connecticut, that an illustration of the mode of making a town may be presented. Late in the seventeenth century, "Quinnibaug plantation" was settled as a speculative enterprise of real estate dealers, who had secured from the Indians the titles to the lands. In 1700, the community elected a constable and secured recognition as a town by the general court, which gave it, as the special brand for its horses, a triangle. Under its new name, Plainfield, it continued to grow, until, in 1703, the general court divided it into two towns, Plainfield and Canterbury, requiring the new part to pay rates for the support of a minister of its own and to use a different brand for its horses. The process of town building reminds us of that by which plants grow cell by cell. Each town was, indeed, a kind of political cell in the organism of the body politic. Such was the town of Connecticut, the true American type of self-government, which Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire in the "Hampshire grants" so greatly encouraged in the lands beyond the Connecticut river that the *quasi* State of Vermont first chose as its name New Connecticut. Such was the town that, in the American political system, furnished the other weight in the balance

to offset the county of Virginia. Since, closely defined, the royal colony is better styled provincial, similarly the charter colony is better styled republican, that is, democratic representative. To the four thousand square miles of country in Southwest New England, we owe the first conclusive demonstration that pure democracy is conservative, sane, strong, equal, ideal.

The causes of this conservatism of democracy are not hard to understand. The people generally are busy with their private affairs. When they think of the man in an office, they usually look upon him as the man for the office. Unless by his action he clearly shows the contrary, the democracy will always support him. As for the office-holder, when he knows that he is responsible not to a faction or to a clique or to a king or to a boss but only and wholly to the people, his first and permanent concern is to serve their interests. All government is necessarily by office-holders, and their character and ability determine the quality of government. The mass of the people, being greater than that of any part, is harder to change for the better or for the worse than any faction or individual. It is, therefore, essentially conservative,—that is, traditional. Frequently, the good government of Connecticut has been attributed to the fine average quality of the people, an admitted fact. But the people believed in the government, and that in turn kept ever before them the great principles of liberty through democratic law, thereby developing by exercise their best qualities of mind and heart.

In an earlier paragraph has been given a brief

account of the city government of Philadelphia. It is interesting to note that Boston, the second largest municipality in America and the largest town, was governed by a town-meeting to as late a time as 1822. The control was exercised by nine selectmen, associated with whom were overseers of the poor, fire-wards, a health board, lumber and fence viewers, school committeemen, a treasurer, a clerk, and many other officers. The only reason why the town-meeting was ever given up was because a democracy of thousands of voters cannot legislate successfully. In practice, the Boston annual town-meeting had less than a hundred citizens present.

**The Largest
Town**

In general, in the eighteenth century, the larger communities were relatively less important in their influence upon political affairs than are the vastly larger communities of the present time. Eighteenth-century America was a land of villages and farms, with a few seaports to carry on the commerce of the seas. The people of these ports were not so thoroughly American in spirit as were those who lived inland; and their governmental practices were more like those of Europe than were the practices of the towns and parishes that lay remote from the influences of the Old World.

CHAPTER VI
POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE COLONIES
THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

1697-1759

“GEORGE, George, be king,” said the mother of George III. to her son whom she was educating to ascend the throne. And George, immediately upon his accession, set out to be king. What this meant to America, we are to recall later in the course of this narrative. Our present purpose, to a degree manifested in the preceding chapter, is to show fully why the nature of the rule proposed by the first Hanoverian Englishman upon the throne of England conflicted with the fundamental characteristics of the English colonists. King George proposed to be king: America had learned the liberty of a large measure of self-government. In consequence, the year 1760, when George, then twenty-two years of age, became king, constitutes a waymark in American history. Before that time, there were thirteen separate, isolated, independent, unsympathetic colonies; after that time, there began to be one people who were destined to become one nation. The present chapter traces in outline, from 1697 to 1759,

the history of the Southern Colonies; two succeeding chapters will trace the history of the Middle and Northern Colonies; and in all of these four chapters, a group that includes the preceding chapter, the constant purpose is to show the development of certain characteristic national ideas that amply justified the War of Independence. As we shall see, that war might not have occurred, and, if it had occurred, might historically have been unnecessary and wanton but for the theory and practice of King George and Parliament from 1760 to 1775. In short, we shall return to the views of the authors of the Declaration of Independence, and account for the war as a protest against an un-English government in Old England, a government that certainly did not represent the opinions of a majority of the Englishmen of 1775.

Since, from 1697 to 1759, the colonies were essentially independent counties or provinces of England, it is proper to study their political histories separately. For chronological and geographical convenience, they will be dealt with in the following order, —Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. The history of Georgia has already been treated in an earlier chapter of the narrative. Virginia is taken up first because it was the oldest and largest colony, and Massachusetts last because it was the colony which more than any other organized the opposition to King George and Parliament. The discussion in the preceding chapter of the nature and organization of the colonial and local governments of the fairly typical colonies of Virginia, Pennsylvania,

and Connecticut will make it unnecessary to deal here with the theoretical aspects of politics.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the governor of Virginia was Francis Nicholson, an energetic man, whose many services in colonial

Virginia

America covered a period of thirty-eight years. In 1699, Williamsburg, destined next year to be made the colonial capital, was founded. It is the oldest incorporated city in the State. Wil-



liam and Mary College, still only an academy, was located there. Williamsburg was the centre of the fashionable life of Virginia. Its first settlers had gone thither in 1632, but its municipal life dates from the end of the

seventeenth century, when it began to have a considerable population. In 1705, George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney, became governor, at the handsome annual salary of two thousand pounds; but out of that he had to pay his deputy eight hundred pounds. Thereafter, the nominal governor resided in England, and the deputy became the real power. In other words, the governorship was a sinecure, and the governor an annuitant or pensionary. Edward Nott, the deputy, died in 1706, and his successor, Robert Hunter, was captured in 1708 upon the sea by the French. Two years later, Colonel Alexander Spotswood arrived, one of the most imposing and satisfactory personages in colonial history. He was then past thirty, in the prime of his physical strength. A tall, vigorous, heavy man with a strangely wrinkled face,

he became more than a figure in Virginia politics: he was the power there for many years. He is remembered as the "Tubal Cain" of Virginia, because he tried to establish iron foundries and forges. He was a very enterprising man, to whom the world of the sea owed the death of "Blackbeard the pirate," often known as William Teach, but properly styled William Drummond. In 1718, Spotswood heard that Blackbeard was in Pamlico bay, with two vessels, and promptly sent Lieutenant Maynard of the British navy to capture or to kill him. The expedition was successful, killing Blackbeard himself and capturing thirteen of the pirates, who were taken to Williamsburg, tried, and publicly hanged as a lesson to be read and known of all men. It was one of the last of the blows destructive of piracy upon the American coast. Spotswood founded the "Order of the Golden Horseshoe" in honor of those who went with him in 1716 upon the expedition to the Shenandoah valley, whose story is told earlier in this narrative. The horseshoe was appropriate and significant, because the horses used in the journey over the stony paths were shod with iron shoes, which were very expensive in those days. In tidewater Virginia, horseshoes were then unnecessary, for the roads were of sand or clay, wet or dry. In the last year of his governorship, Spotswood effected a favorable treaty with the Iroquois.

This man of force, courage, and high breeding was succeeded by William Drysdale; he by Robert Carter, President of the Council; and he, in turn, by William Gooch, in whose time the boundary line was fixed between Virginia and North Carolina, the "backlots settlement" from the Old Dominion, and

the most isolated of all the colonies. Gooch was governor for more than twenty years, and did much toward colonization, securing many Germans, and those several-times-transplanted Germans, the "Scotch-Irish." In his time, the character of the population was finally determined. Chiefly English, Virginia had added the Germans, the Swiss, and many fine Huguenot families from France. These people with the swarms of Negroes had now spread well into the Shenandoah valley to the west and also into the south, so that besides tidewater Virginia, there was a Virginia of the great valley and of the mountains. While Gooch was deputy governor, Spotswood came again into prominence as post-master-general for all the colonies. At this time, the cities of Richmond and Petersburg were established. This was the period of the visit of the great English preacher of the "New Light," George Whitefield, and also of the rise of the Washington family. It was in 1740 that Lawrence Washington named his estate Mount Vernon in honor of Admiral Vernon in whose service he had enlisted in the expedition against Carthagera in the West Indies. A few years later, in 1748, the Ohio Company was formed, to win the great valley beyond the Appalachians for Virginia and for England. Their grant was six hundred thousand acres. A year later, Governor William Gooch resigned, to visit England. He was a Scotchman, quiet, modest, shrewd; and another Scotchman, Robert Dinwiddie, succeeded him three years later, 1752.

Among the first of the important measures of Governor Dinwiddie was to send George Washington

and Christopher Gist to the Ohio. It was in November, 1753, about a year and a half after the treaty with the western Indians, who then agreed not to molest settlements south of the Ohio, that they reached Logstown, the scene of the treaty and a trading-post, some seventeen miles northwest of the spot where Pittsburgh now stands. A month later, they were at Fort Le Bœuf upon

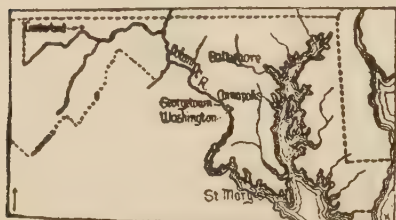


French creek, only fifteen miles south of Lake Erie. Still traveling in the dead of winter, they reached Williamsburg in January, 1754. It was a great journey of fifteen hundred miles, through the trackless, forested wilderness. In that expedition were displayed fearlessness, endurance, judgment, and foresight. Of such stuff was he made who became "the Father of the Republic." The rest of the period of the governorship of Dinwiddie was chiefly occupied with the affairs of the French and Indian War. In 1758 he was succeeded by Francis Fauquier, who served till his death ten years later.

The history of Maryland in these six decades was uneventful. Annapolis was incorporated as a city in 1708, when Seymour was governor under the king. In 1715, the colony was again returned to the Calverts as proprietors. The old Lord Baltimore, a Protestant, died in that year, and John Hart became governor to represent Charles Calvert, the infant heir. In 1730, Baltimore was laid out, upon lands belonging to Charles and Daniel Carroll, who received two pounds an acre for some sixty acres. In 1750, the town had but twenty

Maryland

houses. In the meantime, Annapolis continued to be the chief city. It was the fashionable center of colonial life. There were balls and races, and plays at



the theatre. Some of the wealthiest planters lived like manorial lords, and possessed from one to twenty thousand acres. Lord Baltimore created

manors with feudal rights, and these manors corresponded, to a degree, with the parishes of Virginia. In 1732, the boundary lines between Delaware and Maryland and between Pennsylvania and Maryland were settled nearly as they stand now. In 1744, when Bladen was governor, a treaty was made with the Six Nations at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, by which, for the sum of three hundred pounds, they agreed to relinquish all their claims to lands in Maryland. A year later, the town of Frederick was laid out. In 1748, the Nanticoke Indians migrated to Wyoming, taking with them after solemn ceremonies the bones of all their dead. In 1751, Frederick Calvert became sixth Lord Baltimore, and two years later directed Governor Sharpe to discover which branch, the north or the south, is the true source of the Potomac. After Braddock's terrible defeat, Maryland suffered, as did Virginia and Pennsylvania, from the devastations of the Indians.

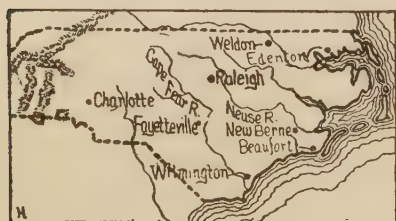
One who studies speculatively the history of Maryland, after the first few decades, when the colony magnificently maintained the principle of the religious toleration of all Christians, cannot withhold

the question as to whether or not it would have been advantageous to the United States, had the colony included Delaware and reached as far north as Philadelphia. The question is similar to that as to whether or not the course of American history would have been forwarded had Massachusetts bay colony secured both Rhode Island and Connecticut, and had New Hampshire included Vermont. Similarly, one questions whether it would not have been well, had Quaker West Jersey expanded into Pennsylvania, and secured East Jersey. It becomes a question as to whether or not the United States, accepting the principle of federation, would have started out as a new nation with greater hope of success, had there been five or six instead of thirteen original States. The question is suggested because consideration of it necessarily involves the recognition of certain fundamental political principles. Moreover, another century will certainly prove that either some of our new States are too large or else several of the old ones are too small. Merely to illustrate the question, it is suggested that New Hampshire-Vermont, Massachusetts-Rhode Island-Connecticut, New York, New Jersey - Pennsylvania, Virginia-North Carolina, and South Carolina-Georgia, with a few obvious boundary modifications, would have made six States rather better balanced and proportioned and with more logical boundaries than the present arrangement. Let it be understood that, when the grants were made, there was nothing sacrosanct about any of their boundaries, but much that was corrupt about several of them. A hundred years

**Number and
Size of
Colonies**

hence, it may be necessary to make several changes. If the tendency then is to break up large populations into smaller divisions, Long Island may become a separate State or may be attached to Connecticut, as historically it probably should have been.

South of Virginia, with her elegant aristocracy, her great plantations, her multitude of slaves, her grand tidal rivers and beautiful hills and valleys, lay rough North Carolina, the first western frontier. In 1704, the legislature of this uneasy, democratic colony disfranchised all Dissenters, forbidding them to hold any office of trust, honor, or profit. Next year, the people built the first church in the colony. It was located in Chowan county. Thereafter, though the law of disfranchisement was repealed, the Church of England



was established in the colony. From 1706 to 1710, there were two rival governments, the popular and the legal. All this time, the "Quakers, deists,

atheists," and other "profligate rabble" were stirring up trouble in this colony of cabins sheltered in forested valleys. In 1710, thousands of Swiss and Germans from the Rhenish Palatinate settled in North Carolina, under the direction of Baron de Graffenried. This enterprising noble, with the admirable John Lawson, surveyor, was captured by the Tuscaroras in 1711; and Lawson, who had written, in a fine description of that beautiful land, a eulogistic account of the "noble red man,"

perished at the hands of the Indians, sharp splinters dripping with turpentine being thrust into his skin and then set on fire. So died another martyr to the cause of exploration in America. Lawson had described North Carolina as "a delicious country, with wine, oil, fruit, grain, and silk, with other rich Commodities, besides a sweet air, moderate climate, and fertile soil." All the eastern Appalachian country is indeed very beautiful. It includes the White Mountains, the Adirondacks, and the Blue Ridge, not to mention many another range; but no part is more beautiful or favorable to a fine population than western and central North Carolina. How, then, did it come to pass that this colony was, or was reputed to be, the most inferior of all the British colonies in America?

To begin with, North Carolina received the secondary colonization of Virginia. Many of her settlers were former redemptioners who had served their terms, or runaways from the justice of the law or from the opprobrium of public opinion. Later, the colony received the free whites who had been unsuccessful in competition for labor opportunities in a market constantly narrowed by the increase in the number and the improvement in the quality of the black laborers. In short, the basis of the society of North Carolina was the unsuccessful white. In the next place, the later settlers of the colony were foreigners who either had never lived in England, or had remained there but a short time,—the Swiss, the Germans, the French Huguenots, and the Scotch-Irish. Most of these people did not know the English language at all, and scarcely any of them

could both read and write it. Almost none of them could express themselves sufficiently well to manifest to their fellows even in their own colony the really excellent moral character of a considerable portion of the population. They had no literary men to leave memorials of their philosophy of life. In the third place, they were not a seagoing folk; very wisely most of them kept away from the dreaded malaria of the coastal region; and they formed no cities or towns, and but few villages. They had no contact with Europe and but little with even Virginia and South Carolina. They developed in isolation many peculiar ideas, such, for example, as later developed into the legal principle of bankruptcy as a clearance from all debts. They laid the foundations for that West of which we heard so much in the time of Andrew Jackson. With all their crassness, their ignorance, their vulgar and cruel fights, and their bitter feuds, they were the fathers of new ideas, many of which are now accepted qualities of our Americanism. Finally, *en masse* they have always been compared with the best of the colonists elsewhere. Such is necessarily the lot of a people without men great in recorded thought. We judge Massachusetts by Samuel Adams, and Virginia by George Washington, but North Carolina by the typical backwoodsman whose speech in public meetings no one ever recorded, and whose rifle rang through silent forests. North Carolina was inferior to the best of Boston, or Hartford, or Philadelphia, or Williamsburg, but not greatly inferior to the mass or to the average of any other colony. In sheer original force, the colony was superior to most

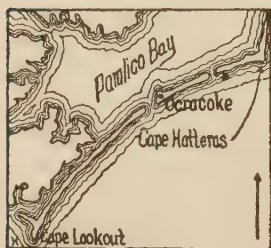
others. In heterogeneousness and in peculiarity of population, North Carolina was the Rhode Island of the South.

In 1713, North Carolina began to issue paper or *fiat* money, and often came near ruining herself later thereby. Since then *fiat* money has been a familiar fact in American history. (We fought through the War of Secession upon *fiat* money.) No other colony had quite so much faith in it as North Carolina. Her money circulated here at ten to one for specie, and was worth in London but fourteen to one. Next year, Edenton on the Chowan river was founded. Of that town, the elegant Colonel William Byrd of Westover, Virginia, who owned a library of nearly four thousand titles, wrote some fourteen years later:

"This is the only metropolis in the Christian or Moham-
medan world where there is neither church, chapel, mosque,
synagogue, or any other place of public worship, of any sect
or religion whatsoever . . . they pay no tribute either
to God or to Cæsar."

Here certainly there was not (to use the phrase of Governor Spotswood of Virginia) "a gentlemanly conformity to the Church of England." Unfortunately, the people who lived in that low land upon the coast had but little enterprise, suffering all the "miseries" of malaria and rheumatism. In 1718, at Ocracoke, Pirate Blackbeard met his end in those waters of the sounds that were no longer to be infested with his kind of adventurers. In 1727 and in 1738, the boundary line between North and South Carolina was fixed much as it is now. In 1729,

seven eighths of the proprietary rights were surrendered to the Crown; and in 1730, the wicked George Burrington, formerly governor for the pro-



prietors, was appointed royal governor of North Carolina, to succeed the equally base Sir Richard Everhard. In 1743, the eighth interest of the Granvilles was assigned in a section running east and west from sea to sea, its northern boundary being the southern line of Vir-

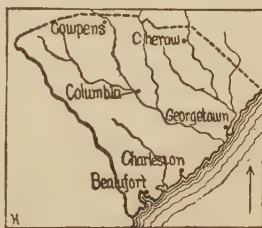
ginia, and its southern boundary being latitude $35^{\circ} 34'$. From 1734 to 1754, Gabriel Johnston, a fine Scotchman, was governor. In his time, the capital of the colony was moved from New Berne to Wilmington. Through a period of eight years there was an accumulation of arrears of salaries due to the Crown officers. By playing the northern counties against the southern, he finally collected the entire debt. At this time, a considerable proportion of the settlers of the southern counties were Pennsylvania Dutch. In 1745, Flora Macdonald with many Scotch Highlanders came to North Carolina. She it was who in the Jacobite rebellion had saved the life of "Prince Charlie." In the period of the War of Independence, she and her husband returned to Scotland; but most of her followers remained in the New World. In 1750, there came to South Carolina many Moravians, who bought, in the region between the Dan and the Yadkin rivers, one hundred thousand acres of land that belonged to Lord Granville.

The next governor was Arthur Dobbs, an English

author, who proceeded to style Starkie, the speaker of the assembly, "a Republican of Puritanic humility but unbounded ambition." Dobbs became a political leader in the colonial resistance against the French in the period of the French and Indian War. In that great continental struggle, the colony suffered but little.

South Carolina

Scarcely less heterogeneous, but far more orderly than North Carolina, was the twin colony of South Carolina. As time passed, the two colonies grew more and more unlike. In 1696, Joseph Blake succeeded the Quaker Joseph Archdale, as governor. Both did much good work, especially in allaying political and religious dissensions. Blake cleared the harbor of Charleston of pirates by hanging a dozen of them. The next governors were graceless scamps who stirred up all manner of trouble, kidnapping Indians to sell them into slavery in the West Indies, encouraging the issue of paper or *fiat* money and throwing all Charleston into riot upon one occasion and another. When Nathaniel Johnson was governor (an able man, disposed to do what was right when his partisans permitted) every Dissenter was disfranchised in an effort to crush the popular liberal party. In 1706, the little colony successfully resisted the attack of a fleet of Spaniards and Frenchmen under Le Feboure, at a time when yellow fever was raging in Charleston. Charles Craven became governor in 1712, and inaugurated a better regime. In 1712, and again in



1715, the colony fought wars with the neighboring Indians,—the Tuscaroras, the Yamassees, the Creeks, and the Uchees. After these were driven into Florida, the frontier was picketed with rangers to prevent their return. This was the time, 1713, when the Tuscaroras migrated northward to become the sixth nation of the Iroquois. The next fifteen years were busy with the political affairs that ended in the surrender of the proprietors' rights. In 1718, some forty pirates were captured and hung. Once more we hear of the energetic Francis Nicholson, who, in 1721, became governor of South Carolina. Robert Johnson was the first governor for the Crown, and began his duties in 1730. He came to a colony without a single public school, and with even less churches in proportion to the population than North Carolina then had, a condition that Francis Nicholson, at his own personal expense, had sought to remedy. Of the royal period, it may be noted that the king by purchase had acquired the right to the proprietors' quit-rents, but was able to secure no large proportion of the payments due. In most of the royal colonies, the king was not proprietor. The lands became massed in large tracts controlled by speculators. This angered the poorer people and greatly retarded the growth of the colony. In 1735, William Bull, who had so greatly assisted the colony of Georgia, and who had served as president of the South Carolina council, became governor for the Crown.

In 1740, the great Negro insurrection occurred. It had its beginning in the attempt of certain plantation hands at Stono Inlet under a leader called Cato, to escape to Florida,—as many other slaves had done

before. As the body of the Negroes fled southward, their numbers grew; but, in a great drunken debauch, the horde was surrounded by a quickly organized force of well-armed whites, and was completely overcome. In that same year, half of Charleston was burned to the ground; from its rebuilding dates its commercial supremacy. From that time, seagoing ships no longer visited the wharves of the various plantations, and South Carolina began to be very different from Virginia. At this time, the trade in rice alone amounted to several hundred thousand pounds annually. It did not pay to treat a Negro well. He was worked to death quickly, for the value of the annual product of one man's labor was much greater than his total cost. Indigo also brought the colony great wealth. Neither rice nor indigo was subject to the navigation laws. In 1743, James Glen began his thirteen-years' term as governor, and in a letter home described the colony as one where "levelling principles prevail; . . . a governor, if he would be idolized, must betray his trust; the people have got the whole administration in their hands," and more in the same strain.



By 1760, South Carolina was a colony with one city and many plantations. It had grown rich and luxurious upon the profit of the unpaid labor

of others. Employing democratic forms of government, the colony was essentially aristocratic, to a degree far beyond even Maryland and Virginia. The latitude of Charleston is that of the cities of Morocco, of San Diego, and of Shanghai, near the northern edge of the tropics, from which fact arise many interesting reflections. In North Carolina was begun the first West in our country, in South Carolina, the real South. Both were destined to become aggressive forces in American history.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE COLONIES

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

1697-1759

THE traveler who might have journeyed from the Southern to the Middle Colonies about the beginning of the eighteenth century would have noticed between them as marked a difference as at any time in the history of those regions. It is true that in that era there were slaves in Pennsylvania and Delaware, in New Jersey and New York, as well as in Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas; but, even in respect to the black men, the difference then was certainly as great as it is at the present time. For in 1700, in Maryland as in South Carolina, the Negro was more in evidence than he was in Pennsylvania. The populations of the various Middle Colonies did not differ radically in their racial elements or in the occupations of the people from the populations of the Southern Colonies. Agriculture was the main support of the people everywhere. And yet the difference between Pennsylvania and Virginia or that between Philadelphia and Charleston was very great; and in the two

Contrasts

generations from 1697 to 1760, this difference increased. This increase was not due to the incoming of different peoples to Pennsylvania and to the Carolinas. All the colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia alike received the Scotch-Irish, the French Huguenots, the German Moravians,—all Teutonic peoples. Nor may the difference be charged to government, for Pennsylvania and Maryland were proprietary colonies, and New Jersey and Virginia were royal. To what, then, was the difference due, a difference that was both obvious and substantial?

The cornerstone of Pennsylvania was the English Quaker; of Virginia, the English cavalier; of South Carolina, the English colonial who had lived in the West Indies as a planter. Pennsylvania has a real winter, with cold and snowstorms; Virginia, some decidedly cold weather; South Carolina, a cold season. Pennsylvania had some domestic and a few agricultural slaves as a convenience, because every other colony had them; but the practice was discountenanced by religious opinion. Virginia had her wealth locked up in slaves, who worked the plantations, but among whom the masters themselves lived as lords among subjects. South Carolina, too, had her wealth in slaves, but the lords were absentees from the rice-swamps and allowed their plantation-slaves to continue in the grossest ignorance, seeing none of the better-bred whites. The second great element in the population of Pennsylvania was "Dutch"; these people really spoke a dialect of High German, to which they added many English words. They had little imagination, but great industry and thrift. Large numbers of these

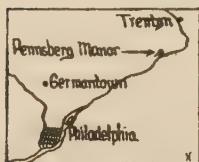
very people went to each of the several Southern Colonies; but whereas in Pennsylvania they found room for development, farther south they were forced into the social background and had but little opportunity of economic and political advancement. While it is true that all the colonies received much the same racial elements, they received these elements in various proportions and of various degrees of culture and with various purposes in life. Therefore, it came to pass that while Pennsylvania and South Carolina were exceedingly diverse in character one from the other, having no common bonds of active sympathy, nevertheless they were not essentially antagonistic, but finally, in 1775, became ready to unite for the "common defence."

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania was the most prosperous of all the colonies through all the period of the eighteenth century before the Revolution. At the beginning of the century, Markham was deputy governor for William Penn, the proprietor. In 1701, a new "frame of government" was granted, and a new charter followed. By the terms of this brief "charter of privileges," the "territories" (as Delaware was then known) were soon afterwards set off from the province of Pennsylvania, and secured a separate assembly, though remaining under the same governor and council until 1776. In that same year, 1701, Philadelphia was incorporated as a city with the form of government previously described in this narrative.



Then Penn himself, who had been in the colony for the past two years, sailed away to England never to return. He left in America the memory of a genial man of energetic ways and admirable statecraft. He had lived here in what



was, for those times, great luxury, with a beautiful country-seat at Pennsbury Manor and the famous "slate-roof house" in the city. At

Pennsbury was a great brick mansion, elegantly furnished, with lawns and terraces about it. The wine-cellar was richly stocked, and in the stable of the manor were a dozen blooded horses. There was born "John, the American," first child of Penn by his second wife.

After the departure of Penn, Andrew Hamilton was made deputy governor. This was the Scotch Quaker statesman who had made so admirable a record as governor of both East and West Jersey. But the man of greatest power in the colony was another Scotch Quaker, James Logan, who, as secretary both of the province and of the council, largely managed colonial affairs for half a century. He was also chief justice and confidential agent of the proprietor. At his death, he left a large library as a legacy to the city of Philadelphia. The leading opponent of the Penns and the organizer of the popular party was David Lloyd, a Welshman. Penn himself was partly of Welsh blood; and he was often too trustful in his dealings with Welshmen. In 1704, he sent out John Evans of Wales as deputy governor, who led Penn's oldest son, William, into a still wilder life than even that scapegrace had yet known, and who

brought no small amount of public trouble upon the province. The next governor, Colonel Charles Gookin, came out in 1709, and for a time made a good record. In his governorship, the colony paid its rents regularly to the proprietor, duly maintained the courts of justice, and passed a law abolishing slavery, which Queen Anne promptly annulled.

In the meantime, George I. had ascended the throne. There were then in the colony English, Welsh, and Scotch Quakers, French Huguenots, and German and Dutch Mennonites, who could vote; and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, German and Dutch Lutherans and Reformed, and various other sects and nationalities, who could not vote. By a sweeping order of the King, the English laws against Quakers were extended to America; and in Pennsylvania, their own colony, they were disqualified from giving evidence in any criminal case, from serving on juries, and from holding any place of profit in the government. Governor Gookin undertook to enforce these laws, and was driven out of office by the general broil that ensued. In 1714, Sir William Keith, a Scotchman, became governor. He persuaded the non-resisting Quakers to establish a militia and undertook to live with almost the former splendor of Penn himself. In 1718, William Penn died in England, bequeathing his proprietary rights in Pennsylvania to his widow and others in trust for his children, and the government to three earls in trust for sale to the Crown. For fifteen years, the widow of William Penn ruled the colony, and grew rich through the honesty and skill of her agents. Governor Keith inaugurated the issuance of paper

money; and, contrary to all theory, it promoted colonial prosperity in the face of a heavy pauper immigration. Under his guidance, laws were passed to increase the home market of some products and the foreign market of others. Philadelphia then began to have a considerable coasting trade. Poor Keith got into trouble with Logan, who secured the support of the widow Penn, with the result that his creditors finally forced him to flee to England where he died a prisoner for debt in the Old Bailey.

In 1726, George II. came to the throne, and Patrick Gordon, aged eighty-two, became deputy governor of Pennsylvania, holding office for ten years. In his time, the sale of Pennsylvania to the Crown was declared void, and all right and title vested in Springett Penn, son and heir of William Penn, Junior, to pass, upon his death, to William's half-brothers. The assembly sent a colonial agent to represent in England their interests against those of the proprietors. This is the period when we first hear of Benjamin Franklin, perhaps the ablest man ever born in the New World, whose services to America were scarcely less than those of Washington himself. Franklin was then a young printer who had come to the colony from Boston and who was the author of an interesting pamphlet styled, *The Nature and the Necessity of a Paper Currency*. In 1731, with some thirty-nine others, he founded the Library of Philadelphia.

In 1733, the three sons of William Penn, the founder, by his second wife, became proprietors upon the death of that able woman. Of these sons, John, Thomas, and Richard, Thomas was the virtual leader in America,

**The Penn
Proprietors**

living here for nine years. He was a feudal lord in a democratic world of several hundred thousand lovers of liberty. The rent-rolls of the Penn estate capitalized were equal to ten or more millions of pounds in actual value. The Penns ranked among the richest people in England, with a family income amounting to perhaps five hundred thousand pounds annually. William Penn was thus the first man to make a great fortune in this country for the benefit of his heirs, though of himself he could truthfully say, as indeed he did say wittily one stormy day when his barge was moving up the Delaware river, "I have been sailing against wind and tide all my life." The Penns were the first family to draw great revenues from America.

In 1737, took place the famous "walking-purchase." According to tradition, Penn made a treaty with the Indians for such lands as he could cover in a three days' walk. He sauntered along for a day and a half and then quit. Half a century later, his heirs insisted upon another day and a half, hired expert walkers, distorted the survey, and secured possession of the Minisink country, commonly known as "the forks of the Delaware." The experts had covered eighty-three miles through the forests, and one of them died from the over-exertion. The Indians never forgave the sons of Penn for this trickery. In 1738, George Thomas, a wealthy planter from the West Indies, became governor. During his time, the assembly fought for the right to get the approval of the governor to its legislation before voting to him the annual salary. This was the tyranny of democracy, the true cause of the American

Revolution. In 1742, the proprietors called in the Six Nations to force the Delawares to leave the Minisink country, whereupon the "women" (as the Iro-



quois sarcastically styled their victims), moved to the Wyoming country. In 1744, the assembly, declining to give any money for the war that was then coming on, voted to the Crown a present of five thousand pounds, which Governor Thomas used in assisting the colonial expedition against Canada. For the Louisburg expedition, the assembly voted four thousand pounds

more; not for guns and ammunition, but for "bread, beef, pork, flour, wheat, and other grain." Franklin, who was no Quaker, did much toward creating the war spirit. Ten thousand volunteers were equipped.

By the middle of the century, Pennsylvania had become a great colony. Philadelphia had a population of thirty thousand. The old families had grown rich and fashionable. The typical Quaker was no longer of the type and demeanor of George Fox, but was at once pious and elegant after the disposition and manner of William Penn. He was philanthropic without being unworldly. The Penn proprietors themselves were not Quakers, but Anglicans of the Established Church.

In 1748, James Hamilton became deputy governor. He was the son of Andrew Hamilton, and a native of America. He was under bonds to the proprietors not to approve any appropriation of money by the

assembly unless its expenditure was entrusted to himself. Moreover, he was required to veto all bills for taxes unless the estates of the proprietors were exempted from the levies. The Penns continued to be arrogant land-grabbers, and while the colonial convention of 1754 was in session at Albany they secured from the Susquehannas title to lands reaching as far west as the western boundary of the present State, some seven million acres, costing but little more than seven hundred pounds. The lands really belonged to the Shawanese, the Ohios, the Lenni-Lenapés, the Nauticokes, and the Tuteloes, who promptly abandoned their alliance with the English and went over to the French. Even the Iroquois, their overlords, were almost ready to transfer their allegiance to New France.

Of the further affairs of the colony during the French and Indian War, an account will be presented later in this narrative. It is sufficient to say here that with changing governors, the colony granted in all a hundred thousand pounds and more for the prosecution of the war. Braddock characterized them as promising less and doing more than any other colony. In this period, Franklin was sent to England to represent the cause of the colony against the proprietors in the matter of taxation for public defence. In this he was successful. Thereafter, the annual tax of the proprietors was perhaps as much as two per cent. of their total income from the province. In 1756, James Hamilton was again made governor, succeeding Denny, the "devil," as the colonists called him, as indeed they had called Morris, his predecessor. In the period following Braddock's dreadful

defeat, and even after Forbes had won Fort Duquesne, the western frontiers suffered terribly from Indian depredations and massacres. The Quaker policy of friendship with the Indians had completely broken down; and the Quakers themselves were no longer in supreme control in their own province.

Of the history of little Delaware, in the first six decades of the eighteenth century, there is not much to record. While Philadelphia, German-

Delaware

town, and Lancaster were growing fast,

Wilmington and Newcastle also thrived. The first meeting of the separate assembly for Delaware took place in 1703. The exact boundaries of the newly defined colony were not fixed until 1732, a year after



Thomas Willing laid out Wilmington, then Willington, though he had built his home there in 1728. In the colony, the Swedish Lutherans found themselves so much like the English Episcopalians that their ministers often exchanged pulpits. Unlike the Virginians, but very much like the New Englanders, the people of Delaware manufactured their own clothes

and many other articles of household consumption rather than buy them of English merchants. They lived the easy, comfortable life of farmers upon fertile lands, and of fishermen and hunters where fish and game were abundant. Local self-government was very strong in the colony, a condition due largely to the main racial elements of the population,

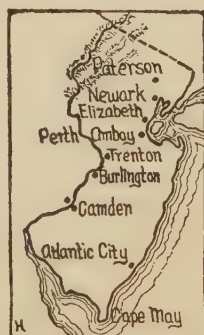


—Swedes, Finns, English Quakers, and Puritans. The importation of Negroes was small, as was also that of redemptioners. The fact that perhaps less is known of the history of Delaware from 1655 to 1765 than of that of any other colony, is due to two causes, —its partial subordination to Pennsylvania, and its even, easy-going life.

Across Delaware bay from Delaware lies New Jersey, whose boundaries are perhaps less artificial than those of any other State in the Union, with the exception of Florida

The Jerseys

and Michigan. The foundation elements of its population in the east were the Dutch, in the west, the English Quakers. In the east, there had been a considerable addition of Puritans from Connecticut and Massachusetts. In the year 1697, the whole region was still divided into East and West Jersey and was under proprietary control; but in 1702, when the proprietors surrendered their authority to the Crown, the two divisions were united into New Jersey. Throughout the colonial period, most of the people lived upon or near the line between Philadelphia, Trenton, and New York. As in Delaware, the colonists of New Jersey were mostly farmers. They were growing fast in numbers and gained with more or less regularity in wealth. Their chief general interests were in religion, in quarrels with the proprietors over the rents, and in profiting by or in suppressing smuggling and piracy upon Delaware bay



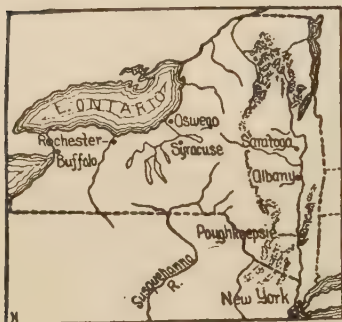
and river, as well as upon the Atlantic and in New York bay. The history of "the Jerseys" from 1697 to 1760, is not very interesting because none of the events were of great importance. Most of the people lived peaceful and moral lives, but they were not very energetic. Their towns and villages in the beautiful northern section, with its lakes and hills, its valleys and mountains, were as yet undreamed of; but, like most peoples of the fertile plains, the Jerseymen were reasonably happy despite the general monotony and the petty troubles of ordinary life.

In New Jersey as in Delaware, from year to year scarcely anything happened. There were no hostile Indians dwelling upon the frontiers as in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, there were no gangs of plantation-slaves ready to break out in insurrections as in South Carolina, there were few abominably bad governors, and no selfish ruling proprietors to harass the people. Moreover, from 1703 to 1738, New Jersey had the same governors as New York, a fact that tended to merge the history of the smaller colony in that of the larger. The house of burgesses generally controlled legislation by controlling the salary of the governor. There were two capitals, Burlington and either Perth Amboy or Elizabethtown, at various times. Edward Hyde, the first governor, through Richard Ingoldsby, lieutenant-governor, working in the interest of the Royal African Society, tried to fill the colony with blacks from Africa, and succeeded in driving most whites out of domestic service and all lines of unskilled labor. A good many honest sailors turned pirates, and not a few honest farmers, persecuted by the underlings of the governor,

who tried to steal money from every colonial undertaking, let their farms go to ruin rather than try to pay taxes, special assessments, and the rents of the proprietors. In 1609, Robert Hunter became governor and served honestly and efficiently. In 1720, William Burnet succeeded to the governorship, being followed in turn by Montgomerie and Cosby. In 1738, George II. gave to New Jersey, as separate governor, Lewis Morris, a native Jerseyman. In 1740 Elizabeth became an incorporated "Town and Borough," with mayor, aldermen, and council. In 1746, Jonathan Belcher, who had been governor of Massachusetts and of New Hampshire, came to New Jersey, to allay, if possible, the disputes between the proprietors and the people. At this period, the back-country farmers of New Jersey in the legislature began to give evidence of that parsimony in all money matters for which both colony and State have been unfortunately notorious. After Braddock's defeat, a few bands of Indians raided the northwestern frontier, but Governor Bernard met the sachems at Easton, Pennsylvania, and the raids ceased. His two-years' term ended in 1760. By this time, the colony was fairly started upon the path of progress and prosperity; but it was not as yet notable for intellectual culture or for commercial success.

The farthest north of the Middle Colonies was New York, which had made during the seventeenth century the most disappointing record of all the greater colonies. This region, **New York** which was destined to become the Empire State of the Union, gained in rank during the first six decades of the eighteenth century and in 1760 might fairly

have been considered as the colony fourth in importance, being still outranked by Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. An excessively heterogeneous population, a cosmopolitan atmosphere, a



sordidly commercial spirit, a delightfully tolerant religious disposition (which was not so much religious or irreligious as unreligious): these qualities do not contribute either to the force of character or to the rapidity, strength, or breadth of the progress of

a new community. At the time of the treaty of Ryswick, 1697, New York was still suffering from the factional strife with which is associated the name of Jacob Leisler. The two parties, Leislerites and anti-Leislerites, Dutch and English, democrats and aristocrats, popular and royal, the "black people" and the "white people," held a large part of the public attention.

In 1698, after William III. had recalled Governor Fletcher, that great friend of the pirates, the Earl of Bellomont came out to America to govern New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New Jersey. He prospered greatly, stopped public corruption, struck heavy blows at piracy and smuggling, and then suddenly died in 1701. Next came Edward Hyde, grandson of that Hyde who had been the tutor of Charles Stuart when he was still upon his travels. He was cousin to Queen Anne, and was sent to govern New York and New Jersey as a means of

escaping prison for debt. He began by embezzling twenty-five hundred pounds appropriated by the assembly to fortify the Narrows below New York harbor. He pursued so evil a manner of private life and so offensive a public course as governor that when the people discovered a corrupt bargain by which Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts was to annex Rhode Island while he annexed Connecticut, so violent was the popular outcry as to force the Queen to displace him. Hyde went from the mansion of the governor to the prison for debt, where he remained until upon the death of his father he succeeded to the rank of Earl of Clarendon. Lovelace, the next governor, lived but a half-year after his appointment. Then came Ingoldsby, whose brief record was creditable. In 1710, Robert Hunter, a Scotch soldier who had served under the great Duke of Marlborough, began the task of governing New York and the Jerseys. Here was a vigorous man who dealt successfully with the Indians upon the northern frontier, had himself made chancellor of his council, sitting as a court of chancery and pocketing rich fees, and persuaded the assembly to pass liberal measures. Immigration was stimulated, and many Germans were added to the population.

William Burnet came to America in 1719, and soon enforced the order of George I. to stop the trade of the French with the Indians beyond Albany. In 1722, an English trading-post was established at Oswego. Shortly afterwards, a colonial congress of governors and commissioners was summoned to discuss Indian affairs. This congress met at Albany and renewed the alliance with the Six Nations. This

was a step farther in the direction of colonial union, and continued the good work of Leisler, who summoned the congress of 1690 at New York. In 1727, Burnet was transferred to Massachusetts, and another Scotch soldier, Richard Montgomerie, became governor. The assembly liked him so well that they granted him the salary of the governor for a term of five years and then suspended the profitable operations of the court of chancery. At this period, Bradley, the attorney-general of the province, wrote to the Lords of Trade: “. . . most of the . . . steps which a dependent province can take to render themselves independent . . . are taken by the assembly of New York.”

The next regularly appointed governor was William Cosby, usually styled “brutal,” “offensive,” “gross,” in the plain speech of those unpolished times. In his day, there were fierce disputes about fees and salaries, appointments to offices, election of delegates to the assembly, and finally the rights of the press. It was in the governorship of Cosby that Zenger won his famous suit, an account of which will be found in the fourth part of this narrative. Despite his defeat in many of these matters, Cosby managed to grow rich upon fees, salaries, peculations, embezzlements, misappropriation of lands, blackmail, and general corruption. His successor, George Clark, managed in a period of six years to accumulate a fortune of one hundred thousand pounds. At this time, Lord Delaware held the new post of governor-general of New York and New Jersey, without any duties to perform. As Hunter in his day had brought over the

Spoils of Office

Germans, intending to make of them bond-servants to manufacture naval stores, so Clark brought over Scotch Highlanders to become servants upon lands about Lake George; and as the Germans, with the first breath in this land of liberty, fled to the free wilderness, so the Highlanders, once in New York harbor, refused to disembark until assured of free land and free lives.

In 1738, Jews were disfranchised in New York, a fact that brings to mind the long history of that enduring race. It builds no nations of its own, but when given freedom, can master any other. In the ethnic sense scarcely a race at all, the Jews, by a natural intuition in all matters of personality, add to their stock choice individuals of every people among whom they dwell. Thus it befalls that the Spanish Jew is a different person from the German Jew or the Russian Jew, but a Jew nevertheless. Wherever he goes, he creates fear because of his ever-present characteristics—, thrift, foresight, persistence, orderly and clean living, singleness of purpose, clannishness, lack of general human sympathy. Even tolerant New York could not altogether tolerate the always successful Jew.

**Race
Troubles**

Of the "Negro plot" of 1741, an account is presented in a special note. Its result, worked out during the next few decades, was greatly to reduce the Negro population; not only relatively in proportion to the whites, who steadily increased, but absolutely the blacks decreased in number in this most cosmopolitan of all American colonies. The decline of slavery in New York dated from 1741, and

its primary cause was the danger, in a large commercial city, from the presence of many vigorous barbarians, such as the freshly imported Africans certainly were.

In 1743, the post of governor-general was discontinued, and New York and New Jersey secured separate governors as well as deputy **Indian Relations** governors. The new governor in New York was George Clinton, of noble lineage and arrogant will. Avaricious, aristocratic, indifferent to public opinion, he grew rich as fast as he grew unpopular. He made William Johnson agent of the Iroquois confederacy, ousting Schuyler, a far better man. After the loss of Saratoga by Indian massacre in 1745, the colony raised nearly a hundred thousand pounds for the expenses of the war. It was an enormous expenditure for some sixty thousand people to meet. By 1751, Clinton had aroused the violent antagonism of several excellent New York families, among them the De Lanceys. After a deadlock of two years over matters of funds, the governor resigned, to be succeeded by Sir Danvers Osborne, who promptly upon his arrival in New York committed suicide. For the next two years, James de Lancey, commonly described as "the brilliant chief justice," was acting governor, and at the instance of Lord Holderness organized the famous Albany Congress of 1754, which made several treaties with the Indians and discussed French and general colonial affairs, including Franklin's plan of colonial union. At this same time, with resources secured in part from a lottery, King's College, now Columbia University, was founded. In 1755, Sir Charles Hardy

became governor. These were the stirring days of the French and Indian War, and Sir Charles, rear-admiral in the British navy, found but little opportunity to accomplish the mission upon which King George had sent him,—to reduce the assembly to doing the royal will. He returned to England in 1757, and thereafter De Lancey was acting governor until his death in 1760, a few months before that of the King himself.

No other colony more clearly illustrated than did New York the opposing influences of Crown and local opinion. London was not only three thousand miles away, with slow sailing vessels as the sole means of communication; London was also a different world, a great city that absorbed a large part of the life of an entire nation. New York was a distributing center where new people arrived annually, bound east, north, west, and south, and coming from different parts of Europe. New York was almost upon the frontier, being decidedly less staid in disposition than either Boston or Philadelphia. The ideas that governed the policy of the English Crown were the ideas of London aristocrats and merchants, most of them of "old families," while the ideas that prevailed in New York and characterized its local sentiment were a composite of the ideas of merchants, fur traders, farmers, frontiersmen, seamen,—Dutch, English, French, German, Jew, Swede, Scotch-Irish, Welsh, Portuguese, Spanish. At this time, London, too, was cosmopolitan; but London was not controlled by general public sentiment. This ruled in New York, and represented "every wind that blew." Such is the universal quality of democracy.

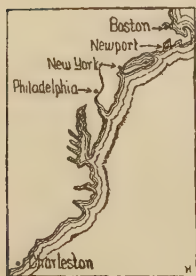
CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE COLONIES

THE NORTHERN COLONIES

1697-1760

IN the geographical sense, New York was as much a northern colony as was Massachusetts, but her affiliations were with New Jersey upon the west rather than with Connecticut, her eastern neighbor. Her seaport, New York city, was the gateway for thousands of immigrants. She sent far more people into New England than she received from that quarter, a condition the reverse of that of the seventeenth century.



From their first development to the present time, Boston and Philadelphia have shown many points of resemblance to each other and of contrast to New York. Until after the War of Independence, however, Newport and Rhode Island in many ways resembled both New York and Charleston. A certain orderliness, due in large measure doubtless to religious piety, characterized Boston and Philadelphia in colonial times, while

Newport, New York, and Charleston thrust upon the attention of the observer the more ostentatious wealth of their merchants and the greater worldliness of their civic life.

The four New England colonies, New Hampshire, Massachusetts (with Maine), Rhode Island, and Connecticut, were northern colonies, in the historical sense, to a degree that did not characterize New York. They braved a colder climate than that of Manhattan and Long Island, where most colonial New Yorkers then lived. Their sailors fared to the northern as well as to the southern seas. Their greatest city, Boston, was in the latitude of Albany, then but a small community. By contrast, therefore, we may fairly term the New England colonies northern, while classifying New York as a middle colony, which in the historical sense as well as in the political it certainly was.

Of these northern colonies, at the outset, we may notice two striking facts. In dealing with them briefly, the historian is burdened with a superabundance of material. These New Englanders were a thoughtful, talkative, literary folk, with a great deal to say about themselves that they made interesting because they understood human nature. Further, the populations of all these colonies together covered at least as large a region as the actually peopled sections of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania combined. To-day, when we look at a map of the United States, and remember the relative amounts of space usually assigned in histories to the colonial periods in New England and elsewhere, we are apt to wonder why

**General
Character-
istics**

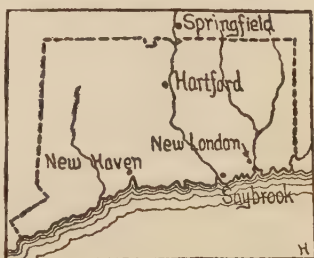
to so small a territory so great attention has been paid. A chief difficulty is with ourselves in failing to remember that of the white people in this country in 1760, over one third were in New England, and that of the one third in the Southern Colonies practically all were busy taking care of the multitudes of blacks. In their presence, the whites subordinated their various differences. Unity of the masters was essential to the subordination of the slaves. Yet such concord quieted argument and impeded progress by discussion. The price of black slavery was white intellectual culture. The Negro body-servant did not contribute to Caucasian brain-energy. The long northern winter, spent largely indoors, conduces to intellectual effort, and the northern summer is not so relaxing as that of the south.

To write a brief chapter covering six decades of the Northern Colonies necessitates selecting a few typical events. History is a record of events that have affected the general welfare; and an event is a collision of personal or social interests. In communities like colonial Massachusetts and Rhode Island there were many such collisions; their energetic days passed in marked contrast with those of Delaware and New Jersey. The Carolinas saw, no doubt, many stirring events, but there were few persons and few opportunities to record them.

Like New Jersey and Delaware, Connecticut and Rhode Island had no frontiers. When the eighteenth century was ushered in, their days of Indians and pioneers had passed. It mattered little, in Connecticut and in Rhode Island, who was governor, for the people of

**In Southern
New England**

the colonies chose him, and the incumbent of that democratic office always did the people's will, or, when he failed to do it, failed at his peril. There were few quarrels here over signing bills of assembly before receiving the annual salary grant. The names of the successive governors are, therefore, rather of curious interest than of political significance. Of all New England, it was generally true that the increase of population was due almost entirely to the high birth-rate of the colonists and but slightly to new immigration from the Old World. This was conspicuously true of the two charter colonies.



At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the boundary lines of Connecticut with New York and with Massachusetts were in dispute, and neither line was fixed for a considerable time later. Connecticut was sore over her loss to New York of Long Island and of Fisher's Island in 1664, and had to endure the further loss of Springfield upon the Connecticut river by the compromise of 1714. The Connecticut-Massachusetts line gave much trouble. To Massachusetts bay colony had been assigned a southern line from a point "three English miles on the south part of the Charles river, or of any or every part thereof," and thence west to the "South Sea." The first surveyors did not care to walk west, and therefore went up the Connecticut river to the longitude of the point three miles south

Boundary Lines

of the Charles, or rather they claimed to have so done. Upon more accurate reckoning, their survey proved to be eight miles too far south, to the advantage of Massachusetts. In 1749, by further survey, Connecticut secured several more desirable towns. The final settlements of these matters look place in the nineteenth century. It is an interesting reflection that but for royal governors, working against a democratic colony, Poughkeepsie, now in New York, and Springfield, now in Massachusetts, might both have been in Connecticut. The boundary between Connecticut and Rhode Island was also fiercely in dispute; adjustments were happily made in 1703 and 1728, and the line was ratified early in the nineteenth century. There was a time in the history of Rhode Island when it seemed likely almost to disappear from the map, for a great slice on the west was claimed by Connecticut and another on the northeast by Massachusetts, but the little colony managed to survive to become, like Delaware, a curiosity in the great Union of States. In each case, upon strict interpretation of the charters, the big neighbors might have seized no small proportion of their territories. The political significance of these little colonies appeared later when the Senate of the United States was formed. In that Senate, the Northern States had two, if not four, more senators, and the Middle States two more, than they were fairly entitled to have in comparison with the Southern States, a fact that helped, in a small degree, to the unity of the South in the Senate before the Civil War.

In 1701, the Connecticut general court chartered the college that in 1717 was moved to New Haven and

that in 1718 was named Yale College in honor of Elihu Yale. The titular founder of Yale College was of New Haven ancestry, but resident in Eng- **Connecticut** land, where he had made a great fortune in the East India trade. He meant to leave (so he said) a legacy to the college, but died intestate. In proportion to his means, John Harvard is clearly entitled to his great fame as a university founder; but Elihu Yale won his distinction by a few slight gifts and by the expression of good intentions. Connecticut was slow to appreciate Yale College, but a century later it was reputed to be the actual ruling power in that State to a degree surpassing even the influence of Harvard in Massachusetts. While Yale College was still at Saybrook, and in the earliest days of the reign of Queen Anne, the colony's agent, in London, Sir Henry Ashurst, was able by only the most vigorous measures to thwart the scheme of Edward Hyde, governor of New York, and of Joseph Dudley, governor of Massachusetts, to annex Connecticut and Rhode Island respectively. But the colony, generous despite these royal and official machinations, and despite also its protection from French invasion, contributed freely to the costs of Queen Anne's War, sending more than a thousand men. In 1709, the colony, floundering in war debts, began to issue paper money, as did every other, and continued the issues until 1751, when Parliament forbade all *fiat* money unless limited to the taxes of one year or secured legally by taxes for five years,—in short, tax warrants. By this time, Connecticut was able to buy in her own paper money at eleven cents on the dollar.

From 1701, all the way on to 1873, Connecticut had two capitals, Hartford and New Haven, an arrangement that kept alive the memory of the two original groups of communities, upon the Quinnipiac and the Connecticut rivers. The general court met twice a year, at Hartford in May and at New Haven in October. Fitz John Winthrop, "chymist" (physician) and politician, of the noble Winthrop family, was governor from 1698 to 1707; then came Gurdon Saltonstall, theologian and lawyer, who served till 1724, to be followed by Joseph Talcott. From 1741 to 1750, Jonathan Law was governor, after whom came Roger Wolcott with a four-years' term. Thomas Fitch held the office from 1754 to 1766. In 1720, the first State House was built at Hartford. Through all the intercolonial wars, Connecticut, though controlled to a degree beyond any other colony by ministers of the gospel, was conspicuously active in furnishing money and men; and the men of Connecticut were therefore unusually well prepared by experience for the War of Independence, when that came.

To Connecticut may justly be given a large share of the credit for beginning the settlement of Vermont.



Even before 1760 and the practical cessation of hostilities between New France and New England, there had been established several little settlements upon the western bank of the Connecticut river north of the Massachusetts line. Fort Dummer was built, indeed, as early as 1729, upon the site of the present town of Brattleboro, but the credit for that properly belongs to men from Northampton, Massachusetts, and to the

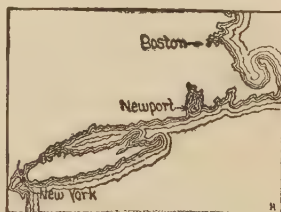
lieutenant-governor of that colony in whose honor it was named.

In several paragraphs of this chapter, allusions have already been made to the history of Rhode Island, the little democratic, commercial colony in the southeast corner of New England. It possessed the best situated

Rhode
Island

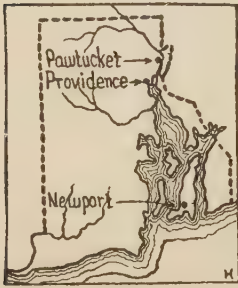
port upon the Atlantic coast, one into which even a clumsy sailing vessel could beat upon almost any wind. The natural harbor facilities of Newport were equal to those of Boston, New

York, and Charleston, and superior to those of any locality in either Delaware or Chesapeake bay. For the purposes of trade with the West Indies, Asia, Africa, Europe, and



Canada, its location was ideal. Moreover, its first people were many of them of good North Teuton blood, which loves the sea. Before the seventeenth century had closed, the colony of Roger Williams, the independent clergyman, of William Coddington, of Anne Hutchinson, and of Samuel Gorton, the colony of religious enthusiasm, of "soul-liberty," was no longer essentially religious and agricultural, but decidedly economic and commercial. Over this turbulent, enterprising folk, whom the Lords of Trade considered little better than scoundrels, rebuking them sharply for making their colony a harbor for pirates and smugglers, no governor was able long to rule until Samuel Cranston appeared in the year 1697. He stayed in office some thirty years, a signal instance of the constancy of democracy. Where New

York was paying sixteen hundred pounds a year to a royal governor, Cranston cheerfully accepted any-



where from ten to thirty pounds. Undoubtedly, Bellomont who, in his capacity of governor ruled all the region from Delaware bay to the St. Croix river, was correct when he denounced the illiteracy of the people and the incompetence of their officers of government. The records do

not show that they ever made him a present of several hundred or thousand pounds as did other colonies.

The Rhode Islanders gladly sent out privateers with letters of marque during the inter-colonial wars, but were not quite so liberal in sending out companies of soldiers; the sea furnishing more prizes than did the land. When Governor Shute of Massachusetts asked them for assistance against the Indians, a committee of the Rhode Islanders assembly, after two years' thought, produced this polished report:

"although the said Indian rebels deserved nothing but a total extirpation from the face of the earth for their continual and repeated rebellions, hostilities, and perfidiousness, yet it would be by no means justifiable in the colony of Rhode Island to join with the province of Masachussetts," etc., etc., and thus "buy for the Massachusetts this privilege with the blood of their young and strong."

After the death of Cranston, governor followed governor in rapid succession. In this democratic colony, the governor was but a clerk of the assembly, having no veto. Rhode Island fairly swamped her-

self with issues of paper money, losing much of her trade thereby, which Massachusetts gained. In the last war between France and England, Rhode Island gave great assistance. At the close of this war, the whole colony had some five hundred ships besides fishing vessels. One third of all the people lived in the two towns of Providence and Newport. Agriculture was distinctly subordinate to the sea trade and the sea fishery, and manufacture was very limited.

North of Massachusetts bay colony lay the two regions of New Hampshire and Maine. At times, the former had belonged to Massachusetts, and in 1697 the latter was actually in her possession. If New Hampshire had not been a wedge to split Maine from Massachusetts, but rather a bond to unite them, the history of New England and of the United States would have been decidedly different from what it was. But the spirit of disintegration was strong, and various circumstances not within the control of the New England people conspired together to break up the region into six separate and discordant divisions.

The history of New Hampshire during the first part of the eighteenth century was the history of the New England frontier: of struggles with proprietors who tried to get rents of "three penny per acre," and of quarrels with the Crown over the big

**New Hamp-
shire**



pine timber for masts. The royal government and the proprietary control together had been re-established in 1692, when all the settlements were within fifteen miles of Portsmouth harbor. The people were struggling for the means of existence, and their chief occupations, when not fighting the Indians, were lumbering, fishing, and trading oversea. They sold their masts, tar, pitch, and turpentine to England, and their smaller timber and fish to the West Indies, Spain, and Portugal.

Allen, the proprietor, was governor, and John Usher was deputy during most of the last decade of the century. Usher was for a time displaced, William Partridge succeeding him. In 1699, Lord Bellomont, the pirate-destroyer, who governed New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, added New Hampshire to his jurisdiction and some five hundred pounds to his private treasury, by grant from the truckling assembly which had refused to repay Usher, the hard-working bookseller of Boston, so much as his traveling expenses. About this time, John Bridger was made "surveyor-general of the woods in New England," with the duty of branding all the big trees for his Majesty's use. In 1702, when Queen Anne came to the throne, Partridge, the lumberman, was displaced by the bookseller, Usher, as deputy; and the famously unpopular Joseph Dudley, governor of Massachusetts, was made governor of New Hampshire also. Dudley, however, took a liking to the rough people of the northernmost colony, and they in turn were pleased with him. When George I. ascended the throne, Samuel Shute was made governor of the two provinces. In his time, New

Hampshire issued fifteen thousand pounds in bills of credit at ten per cent. annual interest.

In 1717, the first of the famous Wentworths of New Hampshire became lieutenant-governor. He was a rich sea captain and lived in that luxury which is dear to most successful "self-made" men. This John Wentworth began the western grants, by which towns were spread through all New Hampshire and into Vermont. Old families disintegrated, sending their younger members west. The Scotch-Irish began to come into the new towns, bringing in flax, the potato (transplanted from Virginia to Ireland), and Presbyterianism. Within a few years, despite a savage Indian war, southern New Hampshire was dotted with new settlements of people from the Piscataqua region, from Massachusetts, and even from New York. In 1727, a new assembly was called; and as in many other colonies, even Rhode Island at this period, a property qualification was added to the suffrage. For a brief half-year, Burnet was governor. Then Jonathan Belcher succeeded to the office, which he held for a dozen unhappy years of personal quarrels with the Wentworths and public quarrels with the proprietors and with Massachusetts bay colony. In 1740, New Hampshire reaped the advantage of the praise of the late Governor Dudley, for George II. and his Council, having conceived a good opinion of the colony, awarded it the decision in the boundary dispute with Massachusetts and decided to give to it a separate governor. It was at this same period that New York and New Jersey also were separated.

The Wentworths

In 1741, Benning Wentworth succeeded Governor Belcher, and remained in office until in his old age he was replaced in 1767 by his nephew, John Wentworth. The new governor lived in the grand style usually affected by the richer sons of rich "self-made" men, and summoned meetings of the provincial council in his own private mansion. Early in his term, Mason, who considered himself proprietor, sold out his rights to a company of twelve men. These freely quitclaimed the territory of sixteen towns, and also granted much free land to intending settlers, upon conditions favorable to the building up of intelligent and successful communities. The heirs of Allen, to whom the original Masons had sold most of their claims, and Usher, who held a mortgage, protested in vain against the free grants and the claims of the new owners. The people who settled in the "Hampshire grants" along the Connecticut river became known as "rangers" and manifested their skill and prowess in many a French and Indian fight. By 1763, they had settled in various parts of Vermont, and their hundred and fifty townships soon included people from Connecticut, New York, and Massachusetts, as well as New Hampshire.

In not a few aspects, New Hampshire, with its overflow settlements in Vermont, recalls North Carolina.

The Two Frontiers New Hampshire was the overflow of Massachusetts, representing the discontented. North Carolina was the overflow of Virginia. Both had magnificent forests. Both ran back into regions of hills and mountains. Both received many Scotch-Irish. Both, at the time of the Revolution, were back-country districts. But

in all matters of religion, of intelligence, and of association by the sea with world-commerce, New Hampshire was upon a distinctly higher plane than the colony of the southwest frontier.

In this and the three preceding chapters, we have now rapidly traced the lines of development in twelve of the thirteen English colonies, from the year of the Treaty of Ryswick

Summary

to that of the accession of George III. The severe limitations of space have forbidden that development of personal matters and that breadth of illustration which tend to make history interesting though lengthy. Many names have appeared that must remain here as mere names. Many events have been set forth in their barest outlines without any interpretation. We have proceeded from Virginia and the Carolinas to Pennsylvania, New York, and New Hampshire, and have seen the amazing progress of the sixty years: North Carolina spreading from the Chowan river to beyond Mount Mitchell; and New Hampshire from Portsmouth to beyond the Connecticut. Everywhere, there was the power of a new people, more or less repressed save in Connecticut and Rhode Island, yet on the whole bearing the burden of royal and proprietary governors with the restless vigor of a strong horse bearing an unskilful rider. Such as this was the history of the "neglected period." It remains to recount the story of Massachusetts in the light of the foregoing facts and principles. This recital may make it apparent why the displeasure of the royal will of George III. was to fall most heavily upon the devoted head of Massachusetts bay colony, an event not wholly due to the fact

that Boston was nearer London than was any other important American port.

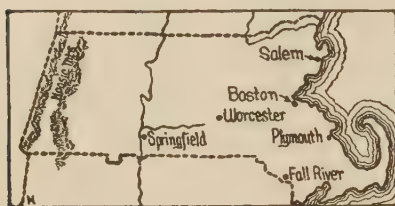
According to the disposition and mood of the critic, the Massachusetts bay colony has been variously

**Massa-
chusetts**

styled "notoriously democratic," "theocratic," "aristocratic," "conservative," "radical," "religious," "secular," "free-

thinking," "commercial." All these terms are applicable, because Massachusetts was a veritable

encyclopedia of customs and reforms, of agreements and discords, of enterprising ventures, of new books and rejections of them, of new ideas



and reactions from them. Famous as the original home of the town-meeting in America, Massachusetts also was the political temple of a masterful religious oligarchy, a theocracy. In Massachusetts, most American political, religious, and educational ideas have first been tried and assessed.

To the people of Massachusetts bay colony the new charter of 1691 was very unsatisfactory. Sir

The Charter

William Phips, hero, and nominee of the Mathers for the governorship, had indeed himself brought it over to Boston from England, but not even he could make it popular. For the charter of 1691 provided that the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary, and council (this in the first instance only) should all be appointed by the Crown and should form the upper house of the general court. The deputies, in the lower house, were to conform to

certain property requirements, and each town was to send two. The governor was to convene, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve the assembly. This charter applied to all

“the Territories and Collonyes comonly called or known by the Names of the Collony of the Massachusetts Bay and Collony of New Plymouth the Province of Main the Territorie called Accadia or Nova Scotia and all that Tract of Land lying betweene the said Territorities of Nova Scotia and the said Province of Main,” etc., etc.

It named the twenty eight assistants of the first council, among whom most were well-known natives of Massachusetts. The general court as a whole was to fill all vacancies in the council, which was to have the appointments of all officers of courts of justice.

The charter gave religious liberty in these words: “and for the greater Ease and Encouragement of our Loveing Subjects Inhabiting our said Province . . . Wee doe . . . Ordaine that for ever hereafter there shall be a liberty of Conscience allowed in the Worshipp of God to all Christians (Except Papists) . . . ” The reservation of veto by the Crown was in these words:

“**And** we doe further . . . grant to the said Governor and the great and General Court . . . full power and Authority from time to time to make . . . all manner of wholesome and reasonable Orders Laws Statutes and Ordinances Directions and Instructions either with penalties or without (soe as the same be not repugnant or contrary to the Lawes of this our Realme of England).” The power of the governor over legislation was set forth as follows: “**Provided** alwaies . . . that in the frameing and passing of all such Orders . . . and in all Elections and Acts of Government whatsoever to be passed made or done by the said Generall Court . . . or in Council the Governor . . . shall have the Negative voice and that without his consent or approbation signified and declared in Writeing no such Orders . . . Elections or other Acts of Government

. . . shall be of any force effect or validity . . .”

The Crown also reserved to itself the right to veto any Act at any time within three years and to take entire control of all admiralty cases. All trees two feet or over in diameter growing upon any lands not yet granted were reserved for the royal navy.

Such was the charter by the terms of which Massachusetts was governed from 1692 to 1775. It was not a bad instrument, but it was much less liberal than the former charter, a fact that made trouble; and it was not nearly so liberal as the charters of the two colonies to the south, the offspring of Massachusetts, a fact that made still more trouble. Yet in truth, the condition of the people of Massachusetts under this odious and, to them, scarcely endurable charter was really better than that of the people of most of the other colonies. New Hampshire folk had a royal governor and bothersome proprietors; New Yorkers had a royal governor and some vestiges, at least, of the Duke of York's proprietary control; for a considerable part of this period, Jerseymen and Carolinians were in the same predicament as the people of New Hampshire; the colonists of Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland were under ruling proprietors; and the Virginians had a royal governor and no charter. On the whole, therefore, the troubles of Massachusetts were largely due to the people themselves.

From the beginning of the colonial operations under this distasteful charter, the deputies in the assembly controlled the money affairs of Massachusetts, demanding to know how all funds were to be

spent and granting the governor's salary by the year or half-year. They gave Bellomont two thousand pounds and received in reply a rebuke for harboring pirates and smugglers. In 1699, they seized the notorious pirate, William Kidd, in Boston harbor, and sent him to England. They quarreled with Governor Joseph Dudley, descendant of that severe Dudley who had been associated with the elegant and gracious Winthrop. Massachusetts was very prompt and generous always in war-levies. In 1704, the *Boston News-Letter* was established, the first newspaper in the British colonies. Its purpose apparently was to praise Joseph Dudley rather than to tell the truth. In 1713, Captain Andrew Robinson, of Gloucester, built the first schooner ever made, a type of vessel now universally recognized as more generally useful than any other sailing-ship. The schooner made successful whaling possible, and lured still more of the men of Massachusetts out upon the sea.

The Royal Governors

In 1714, Colonel Samuel Shute of the British army became governor, and encouraged the immigration of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. In the winter of 1717, there fell in one storm snow to the depth of from ten to twenty feet, the record for New England during its occupation by white men. In 1725, Father Rasle, who at Norridgewock, Maine, organized expedition after expedition of French and Indians against Massachusetts, was overthrown and killed, after costing the colony a quarter of a million pounds in war expenses. Lieutenant-Governor Dummer deserves the credit for removing this stumbling-block from the path of the progress of Massachusetts.

In 1727, William Burnet became governor, and made, in his brief term of one year, an unenviable reputation as a rapacious and corrupt would-be tyrant. In 1729, Jonathan Belcher be-



gan his term as governor and spent most of his time in bargain-making and in promise-breaking. He was a native of Massachusetts, but was no more satisfactory to the colony than were the British-born governors. The lawyer William Shirley succeeded him in 1741, and held office until 1756. He was the coworker with Pepperell in that great expedition

in which he won Louisbourg and a baronetcy, the first ever given to an American colonial. In 1747, there was a riot in Boston upon the attempt to impress citizens into the British navy.

In 1749, Great Britain reimbursed the colonies for their expenditures in the war, and Massachusetts received one hundred and eighty-three thousand six hundred pounds sterling, which Speaker Hutchinson of the assembly persuaded the colony to use in taking up the bills of credit. About this time, Governor Shirley began to urge that a line of fortifications be built all along the frontier at colonial expense. This would have necessitated an act of Parliament interfering with internal colonial affairs. By 1757, the popular Shirley had become very unpopular, his last offensive act being to marry a young French Catholic girl at a time when he was past sixty. In his stead came Thomas Pownal, who served as governor two years. He said of Massachusetts, "It ever did, ever will, and ever must take the lead when any spirited

measure is expected." He was soon sent to govern South Carolina; and in 1760, his successor, Francis Bernard, came over to Massachusetts bay colony and made in the next ten years perhaps the most disgraceful record of all the British colonial governors in America.

Such may be termed the annals of Massachusetts during some sixty years. They form a record of the mere outer shell of circumstance. In this period of time, there had been going on an inner transformation that was due to several causes. In 1697, most of the people of Massachusetts were the children and the grandchildren of the Puritan exiles. The family traditions of life in England were still the largest part of their thought. But by 1760, the fourth, fifth, even sixth generations of the original stock formed the bulk of the population, and their traditions were those of the New World. The English culture had been largely lost. The old problem, how to build commonwealths of righteousness at Plymouth and Boston, had been solved. In its place, were now several new problems, for life had no longer but a single motive. Founding a state, like founding a family, is chiefly a matter of power of will; but maintaining it in its prosperity is a matter that involves force and breadth of intellect. It is easier to succeed than to continue successful through periods of change internal as well as external.

The Transformation

This transformation in the character of the people of Massachusetts, due as it was to remoteness from Old England, to the vast increase in numbers, to the gain in wealth, and to expansion far beyond

the coast, was seen conspicuously in political affairs. The hated charter of 1691, the best that could be secured by Increase Mather, the Puritan theologian, and president of Harvard, who was then acting as colonial agent in England, had knocked the very foundations from under the theocracy by substituting a low property qualification for church membership as the condition of the suffrage. In the period before 1691, scarcely one male person in six could vote; after that time, most men could vote, though the new conditions disfranchised a few church members.

It must not, however, be supposed that in Massachusetts most men were not Christians. Church membership then did not consist in a "love of our Lord Jesus Christ and in walking in the open confession of that love." Only those persons could be church members in Massachusetts who knew and could defend the creed of the church and whose public recital of personal religious experience was satisfactory to the members. Joining the church was an intellectual ordeal, to many sensitive persons a disagreeable experience, and to many others of insufficiently strong intellects an impossibility. Moreover, "Not Wanted" was plainly written above many a church door. Forbidding an opponent or the son of an opponent to enter the fold of the church was a shrewd policy, commonly resorted to by the rulers of Massachusetts Bay towns and commonwealth. Charles II., the worldling, and William III., the statesman, had made such exclusion no longer of political advantage to the theocrats. Town-meeting had ceased to be church-meeting.

In addition, the progress of their own Harvard College had been away from the conservative and narrow thought, purpose, and tradition of the theocracy. In this respect, the record of Harvard was not like that of Yale in Connecticut colony, or indeed the record of any other college of the eighteenth century. The Massachusetts college was quietly but effectively liberal, being inclined to seek the new light in whatever direction its rays came. Sometimes, in consequence, its professors were in opposition to its presidents. The crisis came at the time when Reverend Increase Mather, the great scholar and theologian of the theocrats, president of the college in Cambridge and pastor of a church in Boston, was taken at his word when covertly asked to transfer his residence from Boston to Cambridge and found his resignation of the Harvard presidency accepted. Subsequently, his son, Cotton Mather, was disappointed in his candidacy for that office. To lose the control of Harvard, which passed into the hands of professors educated in England and versed in the new eighteenth-century philosophy and of trustees engaged in a world-commerce, was a blow from which the Puritan theocracy could not possibly recover. Independent churches began to grow up so strong as to compel recognition. The new thought, running from the Harvard fountain, flowed in rills throughout the land.

**Colonial
Colleges**

Still another element had its influence in the transformation of the Massachusetts character.

In an earlier volume of this narrative, the degeneration of the later colonials from the culture of the exiles was discussed at

**The Border
People**

some length. This degeneration was seen conspicuously in the eighteenth-century colonial treatment of the Indians. The colony of Massachusetts paid a hundred pounds bounty for every Indian scalp. The forest rangers in western Massachusetts and in New Hampshire hunted the Indians like wild animals, trapped them, killed them when asleep, and gloried in their horrid work. The philanthropy of John Eliot had almost disappeared, and a brutality matching that of the Indians themselves stamped itself upon the colonial border-folk. In winning greater freedom, the colonials had lost no little of their humanity.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—POPULATION AND POLITICS, 1698-1760

NOTE: In all perspectives events are representative, not exhaustive.

1683-1760, U. S.—The historically "neglected period."

1697.—Treaty of Ryswick.

1698.—Earl of Bellmont arrives to govern N. Y., N. J., and New Eng. (except Conn. and R. I.).

1699, Conn.—The General Court divided into Council and Assembly.—Va.—Williamsburg founded—(Made Capital in 1700)—Miss.—A French colony started at Biloxi Bay.—Ill.—Cahokia begun.

1700, Va.—Huguenots arrive.—Pa.—Old Constitution surrendered.—N. C. and S. C.—Disease and liquor have almost annihilated the Indians.

1701, N. Y.—A court of chancery organized.—N. J.—The Jerseys become a royal province.—Pa.—A new "*Frame of Government*."—Philadelphia chartered by William Penn.—Mich.—Detroit's first settlement.—Mass.—Gov't assumed by the Council.—Boston advises abolition of slavery.—Conn.—Government to meet alternately at Hartford and New Haven.

1702.—N. Y. and N. J. are placed under one government.—N. J.—East and West Jersey united.—Pa.—Delaware legislature convenes separately.—N. C. and S. C.—People refuse hereditary nobility.—Ala.—Mobile's first settlement.

1703, N. Y.—The Governor denies the right of the Assembly to interrogate him.—Del.—First Assembly separate from Pennsylvania.

1703-38, N. J.—Governors the same as New York.

1703 and 1728, R. I. and Conn.—Boundaries defined.

1704, N. C.—Dissenters are disfranchised.

1705, New Eng.—Gov. of Mass. conspires with others against colonial liberty.—Va.—A slave declared to be real estate, a part of the soil.—Fla.—Moors' conquests strengthen English claims.—O.—A trading post at the mouth of the Maumee R.

1706, N. C.—Two governments (continued to 1710).—S. C.—Dissenters enfranchised.

- 1707, N. Y.—Governor reproved for bribe-taking and executive rulings.—N. C.—Huguenot settlement made.
- 1708, N. Y.—Extravagant land grants vacated.—The governor imprisoned.—Md.—Annapolis incorporated.
- 1710, Eng.—Parliament establishes a colonial post-office system.—N. C.—Thousands of Swiss and Germans arrive.
- 1711.—N. C. called the "sanctuary of runaways."
- 1712, N. Y.—Alleged Negro plot to burn N. Y. City.—Pa.—"Neither just nor convenient to set them [Negro slaves] at liberty."
- 1713, Eng.—An Eng. Co. secures exclusive right to carry slaves to the colonies.—Mass. and Conn. boundary adjusted (also in 1731).—Pa.—Introduction of slaves prohibited.—S. C.—The Tuscaroras migrate north to become the "Iroquois Sixth Nation."
- 1714, Conn.—North boundary gives Springfield to Mass.—N. C.—Edenton founded.—Mo.—Ft. Assumption built.—Tenn.—Clarksville begun.
- 1715, Eng.—Slave Trading Co.'s Spanish monopoly.—Mass.—The Council governs.—Md. returned to the Proprietors.
- 1716, Va.—Gov. Spotswood attempts expedition to Miss. R. and opens a road across the Blue Ridge for emigration.—The Governor complains of the Burgesses as paying too much attention to the demands of the people.—A trading route opened from L. Erie to the Miss. R.—Miss.—Natchez settled.
- 1717, New Eng.—The great snow-storm (15 to 20 feet deep)—La.—The Miss. Company launched.
- 1718, English official corruption in patronage.—S. C.—Some 40 pirates hung.—La.—New Orleans founded by 800 Fr. emigrants.—Ft. Natchitoches built.—S. C.—People elect a Governor in opposition to the Proprietary Governor.—La.—Negroes brought from Guinea.—Tex.—La Bahia founded.
- 1720, Ill.—Ft. Chatres built.
- 1721, Va.—Free Negroes, mulattoes, and Indians are disenfranchised.—Mass.—The Governor coerced by the Assembly.—S. C.—The proprietary government is overthrown.—La.—Nearly 1000 colonists arrive; 1367 slaves arrive.—Ill.—Jesuit College established at Kaskaskia.
- 1722, N. Y.—Eng. trading post established at Oswego.—Md.—People declare for English common law.—La.—Germans from Arkansas settle 20 m. above New Orleans.
- 1724, Eng.—Colonial slave-trade encouraged.—Va.—Strong opposition to the slave-trade.
- 1724-31, Vt.—French make settlements.—English settle at Ft. Dummer.
- 1725, Mass.—Settlements made in the western part.
- 1726, N. Y.—Indians surrender to the English a strip 6 m. wide on the S. shore of L. Ontario.—Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas place their lands under English protection.
- 1727, Va.—Fredericksburg founded.
- 1727 and 1738.—Boundaries between N. C. and S. C. fixed.
- 1728, Conn.—England tries to change colonial inheritance law.—N. J.—The King petitioned for a separation from New York. (Denied.)
- 1729.—Carolina becomes a royal colony, and is divided into N. and S. Carolina.—N. C.—Most of the proprietary rights are surrendered to the Crown.—Vt.—Ft. Dummer (Brattleboro) built.
- 1730, N. Y. City.—A new charter received.—Md.—Baltimore is laid out.
- 1731, Del.—Wilmington laid out.
- 1732, Eng.—The colony of Ga. planned by Oglethorpe as a benevolence.—N. Y.—Political struggle over freedom of the press.—Pa.—The "three days' walk." (1682, Penn's three days' walk).—Del.—Boundaries defined.—Boundaries between Pa., Del., and Md. settled.—La.—The colony surrenders its charter to the French Crown.
- 1733, Ga.—Savannah settled and laid out.—La.—Settlement at Baton Rouge.

- 1734, N. Y.—First libel suit.—Ga.—Parl. grant of £6000.—Ga.—Ebenezer founded.
- 1735, Ind.—Vincennes (Poste de Ouabache) fortified (possibly settled in 1722).
- 1736, Ga.—Inverness founded by 100 Scotch Highlanders.
- 1737, N. C.—The king's officers imprisoned.—La.—Ten years' free trade with the W. I. permitted.
- 1738, N. J.—Separate government permitted.—S. C.—Negro insurrection.
- 1739, Eng.—Slave-trade flourishes. (Sp. monopoly ends.)
- 1740, Va.—Mt. Vernon named.—N. J.—Elizabeth incorporated.—N. H.—Boundary dispute settled and a separate governor appointed.—S. C.—A great Negro insurrection.—Teaching Negroes how to write forbidden.—Half of Charleston burned.—Ga.—Moravians (opposing war) found Bethlehem and Nazareth in Pa.
- 1740-42, Ga.—Struggle with Spain.
- 1741, Eng.—Parliament restrains paper money issues in the colonies.—N. Y.—Negro Plot and beginning of the decline of slavery in that colony.—N. H., separated from Mass., becomes the only royal colony in N. Eng.
- 1742, Va.—Richmond legally established.—Pa.—The Delaware Indians forced to leave their homes.
- 1743, N. J. and N. Y.—Separate governors as well as deputy governors.—Ga.—Actual landownership adopted.
- 1744, Va.—Right to extend settlement to the Ohio (Pittsburg) purchased of the Indians.—Pa.—Indians sell for \$2000 the lands between the Blue Ridge and Alleghany Mts.—Md.—A treaty with the Six Nations.—Tex.—Alamo mission built.
- 1745, N. Y.—Saratoga massacre by Indians.—N. J.—A census taken: Population, 61,403.—Md.—Frederick City founded.
- 1747, Boston.—British impress seamen. Public resentment effective in their release.
- 1748, Va. & Eng.—The Ohio Co. formed.—Va.—Washington surveys the Fairfax lands.—N. Y.—A colonial congress held at Albany.—Md.—The Nanticoke Indians migrate to Wyoming.
- 1749, Conn.—Boundary extended.
- 1750.—The Ohio Co. receives a grant of 600,000,000 acres in territory claimed by France (Eight years of war follows.)—Pa.—Mason and Dixon are appointed to survey the Pa. & Md. boundary.—Md.—Baltimore has but 20 houses.—S. C.—Many Moravians arrive.
- 1751, N. Y.—A colonial Congress at Albany on the French conflict.—Eng. and Six Nations make peace a treaty.—D. C.—Georgetown laid out.
- 1752, Eng.—The New Year to begin Jan. 1, instead of Mar. 25, and Sept. 3 to be counted Sept. 14.—Va.—A treaty with Indians at Logstown gives permit to build a fort at the forks of the Ohio River.—N. Y.—First house in Troy erected.—Pa.—A plan of American union is proposed.—Ga.—Charter surrendered and the colony becomes royal.—1000 hired slaves (from S. C.)
- 1753, Va.—Washington (age 22) bears a commission to the Fr. Commander on L. Erie.—N. Y.—Registry of mortgages required by law.—Pa.—Virginians settle on the Youghiogheny.
- 1754, N. Y.—Congress of 7 colonies. A union for defence is proposed by Franklin.—Sir Wm. Johnson becomes a Mohawk Sachem.—N. C.—Many Scotch Highlanders arrive.
- 1755, Va.—Five colonies at Alexandria recommend Eng. taxation of the colonies.—S. C.—Cherokees agree to move inland away from colonial settlers.
- 1756, Tenn.—First settlement, 60 miles from Knoxville.
- 1758.—Thanksgiving by the colonists because the French are driven from the Ohio Valley.
- 1759, Mass.—Taxation is self-imposed.
- 1760, Eng.—George III. becomes king at age of twenty-two.—N. C.—Daniel Boone reaches the E. crest of the Continent.

CHAPTER IX

THE PROGRESS OF NEW FRANCE AND OF NEW SPAIN

1697-1774

SOUTH of the British colonies upon the continent of North America lay the Spanish possession of Florida with its fortified town of St. Augustine. West of the thirteen colonies lay the Appalachian country, claimed by France, into which she was entering to take effective control. North lay Canada, or New France, inhabited by the settlers, and protected by the soldiers, of the king of the foremost nation of all Europe. In the year of the Treaty of Ryswick, the best-informed statesmen of Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Germany, Sweden, and England had some fairly correct ideas of the Mississippi valley and of the Great Lakes. But no man of them all dreamed that within the space of six generations the Atlantic seacoast, the Appalachian

**A Divided
Empire**



mountains, the Mississippi valley, the unknown world beyond, and finally the remote Pacific coast were all to become the domain of a single great nation. In comparison with a territory so immense, the empire of Charlemagne was small. The ablest statesmen could not fix their minds resolutely upon the forecast of the future of such an empire considered as a single whole. But for steam and electricity, it would indeed be impossible to hold together in one nation the populations of regions so various in character and so vast in extent.

In narratives of American history, it has been the custom to pass over almost or entirely unnoticed the affairs of the lands now within the limits of the United States, but outside of the nation in the period of its earliest independence. Were history synonymous with political science, this would be justifiable, for in political matters Florida, Mississippi, and all the trans-Mississippi States and Territories underwent a complete transformation after the English-Dutch institutions of the people of the Atlantic coast were extended over them. It was as though all the past were erased and forgotten when the United States secured successively the Louisiana territory, the Southwest, and the Pacific coast. In our time, we are transforming in their political conditions and relations even such populous islands as Porto Rico and Luzon. But the political events are not all the events with which history is properly concerned. Moreover, Louisiana to this day bears in all her institutions, political and religious, economic and social, the mark of France; and in the great Southwest, Spain and New Spain and Mexico will be remembered

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for yet many, many generations. It is, therefore, not only proper, but also necessary to a just view of our national beginnings, to consider not too briefly the history of the regions that in the period from 1700 to 1774 were outside of the limits of the thirteen British colonies. From this account, there will be omitted those matters which fall naturally within the division of the volume that is devoted to military affairs.

The occupation of Florida by the Spanish was essentially military. Settlement did not advance rapidly. The all-controlling home government of Spain did not send out thousands of permanent colonists as did France. There was little independence in the colonial government of the colony; and there was no encouragement offered to immigrants to settle and grow up with the country. The strength of the British colonies was in their self-government and in their economic enterprise. The Spanish colony had practically no self-government and developed no economic enterprises of importance. The two chief places of settlement were St. Augustine and Pensacola; and neither

Florida



place was much more than a location for forts. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the Indian chief Secoffee settled at Alachua, near the middle of Florida, and organized the Seminole nation. By this time, renegade whites from the British colonies, Spanish half-breeds, and runaway blacks began to

form important elements in the population. In 1763, Great Britain secured the region in exchange for a part of Cuba. In this year of the epoch-making Treaty of Paris, the city of Pensacola was formally laid out in rectangles, with well-plotted house lots. General James Grant was the first British governor. Two years later Rollstown, upon the east side of the St. John's river, was founded by English settlers. The touch of the business spirit of Englishmen was felt in many places. Roads were built. Emigrants came from Bermuda to engage in the building of ships. Fifteen hundred men were brought over from Greece, Italy, and Minorca, as indentured servants to develop New Smyrna in the Mosquito district. In 1771, a new lieutenant-governor, John Moultrie, was installed; and in the last year before the War of Independence began, Colonel Patrick Tonyn became governor. When the battle of Lexington inaugurated the struggle for American liberty, this British colony had but few British in it, and almost no native-born colonials of British stock. No highway connected it with Savannah. No common tradition led it to send sympathizing delegates to the Continental Congress.

The first effective occupation of any part of Alabama by Europeans was by the French. De Bien-ville built Fort St. Louis upon the west side of Mobile bay in the year 1702; and that little colony was moved to its present site in 1711. At the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers in 1714, Fort Toulouse was built. In the same year Fort Tombecbe was established upon the Tombigby river. All the vast northern back-

country of swamps, forests, sand-stretches, hills, mountains, claimed at once by Spain, France, England, in greater part included indeed in the Georgia charter, had no real history until after the War of Independence. There the Indians roamed; there the runaway slaves and scalawag whites found sustenance and seclusion; there the half-breed hunters and traders tracked their way through the wilderness.

Farther beyond lay the region now known as the State of Mississippi. Within its limits upon the bay of Biloxi, Le Moyne d'Iberville planted a colony in 1699. Seventeen years later his brother, De Bienville, built a fort at Natchez, calling it Fort Rosalie.

In the next year, was launched the great scheme of the Mississippi Company, which proved so bitter a calamity to European investors and so considerable a blessing to the Mississippi valley. Its promoter was a picturesque individual, by name, John Law. He hailed from Edinburgh, where his father was a goldsmith and banker. In the swing of the pendulum to the opposite extreme, the son became an advocate of paper money and a famous gambler. Making a decided social success, this hypnotic gentleman secured from the French government control, for colonization and trade, of all Louisiana, whereupon he launched the



Compagnie d'Occident, later known as *The System*, *The Mississippi Scheme*, and *The Mississippi Bubble*. This great stock enterprise at once absorbed the French East India, China, and Africa companies, the mint, and the Banque Générale of France (another of the enterprises of the Scotch promoter). Then John Law, the magnate, became controller-general of finance. Yet by 1720 the "bubble" had burst! The tale reads like a tale of to-day. There had been too much watering of stock, and not even the water of "the Father of Waters," our matchless Mississippi, could float so colossal a swindle. But in the meantime, the Mississippi Company had actually begun its colonizing activities, and before these closed, in 1722, had sent out five thousand white settlers, many of them involuntary, and seven hundred black slaves. Later, the king despatched shipload after shipload of marriageable young women, who were wedded at once upon arrival.

It was in the year 1712 that the French king granted to Antoine Crozat those exclusive trading rights in Louisiana which John Law secured later. In 1718, Fort Naquitoches was founded upon the Red river, and the settlement of New Orleans was begun. The chief business of the colonists was the fur-trade with the Indians, with whom they were by no means always at peace. Through most of the early period until 1743, the enterprising and judicious Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville was governor of the colony, the other governors, Sauvolle, De Muys, Cadillac, De l'Epinay, and Perier being comparatively unimportant. In 1733, the settlement at Baton Rouge was begun.

Louisiana
and The
Valley

By this time, there were many well-established trading posts and many well-located forts through all that vast region, that magnificent empire, which France meant to possess in the New World. Detroit was founded in 1701, the same year as Mobile. A year earlier had seen the begin-



ning of Cahokia upon the Mississippi, almost opposite the present location of St. Louis. Even earlier, in 1695, possibly as early as 1682, in the time of La Salle, Kaskasia was begun. In 1714, Fort Assumption was built and in 1720 Fort Chartres. In 1735, Vincennes, hitherto known as Poste de Ouabache (Wabash) was fortified. Its first settlement may have been as early as 1722. In 1714, Charleville, a French trader, had established a post near the present location of the city of Nashville, Tennessee. In 1739, De Bienville made a treaty of peace with the Chickasaw Indians. Eight years later, certain Virginians, under Dr. Thomas Walker, discovered



the Kentucky and Big Sandy rivers, and a year afterwards the Cumberland mountains, river and gap. This significant, though not in itself important invasion from the east, heralded the meeting and the conflict to come between the

Saxon and the Gaul. Three years later, the famous scout, Christopher Gist, came down the Ohio river as far as the mouth of the Scioto.

Farther north, it was as early as 1687 that the

French had arrested certain English traders who had ventured across the Ohio river near the confluence

of the Allegheny and the Monongahela.

Ohio

They had established a trading post near the mouth of the Maumee river in 1705; and eleven years later under Vaudreuil, then governor of Canada, they opened a trading route to the Mississippi by way of Lake Erie and the Maumee, the Wabash and the Ohio rivers. This was but one of the many portage-routes from the basin of the Great Lakes to that of the Mississippi. It now became popular because it was remote from the war-paths of the Foxes and not too near those of the Iroquois, who were, however, becoming more friendly than hitherto. Forts Venango and Le Bœuf were established at this period. About the year 1719, farther in the West, near the present city of Lafayette, a post was located by Dubinson and called Ouatennon. We must pass over, with a mere mention, the three weeks' siege of Detroit in the year 1712, when the French, numbering but twenty soldiers, repulsed the Fox Indians, and that later struggle, in 1746, when Pontiac, leading the Ottawa Indians, helped the French to defeat the other Indian tribes at Mackinac. In 1719, Philip Renault had arrived at St. Philipps, near Kaskaskia, with two hundred white and five hundred black laborers, intending to operate certain lead mines supposed to be located there. Two years later, at Kaskaskia, the Jesuits established a college and a monastery.

As early as 1700, Pierre la Sueur had traversed the Mississippi from the Gulf to the Minnesota river, and in that year had discovered lead mines in Wisconsin.

In 1726, the French made a treaty with the Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagoes by which they acquired the right to cross their lands and to trade with the Sioux upon Lake Pepin, already well known to Canadians. In that same year, Prairie du Chien was settled. A year later, Fort Beauharnois, so named in honor of the governor of Canada, was established upon Lake Pepin. There followed several years of sharp warfare with the Fox Indians.

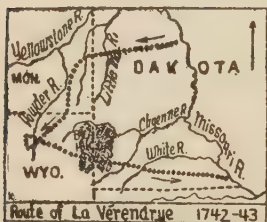
Minnesota



Crossing the great river, we come to the land of the exploits of the Vérendryes, father, son, and grandsons. These adventurous men followed in due line with La Harpe and Juchereau who, in the years from 1718 to 1720, explored the regions watered by the Red and Askansas rivers; with Du Tisé, who made the ascent of the Missouri; with Bourgmont, who pushed still farther into the Northwest; and with the brothers Mallet, who crossed the plains and deserts from the south fork of the Platte to Santa Fé, seeing much the same region visited by Coronado eighty years before, and returning by way of Arkansas river. The first of the Vérendryes was a soldier of the regular French army who belonged to a regiment stationed in the New World. He married a girl of the French country, who was then twelve and a half years old, and who, after the manner of all the eastern colonial women, bore him many children. This man made a good record upon the Iroquois frontier. His son, Pierre, must go home to fight for France, and at Malplaquet

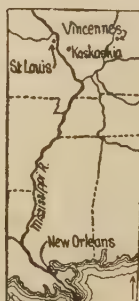
The Vérendryes

was left for dead upon the field, shot and sabre-cut. But he recovered, and returned to Canada and to



the great woods. In 1728, this Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye was stationed at Lake Nipigon, north of Lake Superior, where from the Indians he heard endless tales of the great "Western Sea." He

pressed still farther into the unknown world, exploring Dakota and Manitoba. His two surviving sons (the eldest of the family had been murdered by the Sioux) made a great journey as far as the Rocky mountains, by way of the upper Missouri and into the land of the Mandans. Pierre and the Chevalier de la Vérendrye (the younger, but to judge by the records, the abler of the brothers) thus made in 1742-43 a tour of exploration not less remarkable and considerably more fruitful than that of Coronado a century earlier. It demonstrated the hopelessness of establishing a line of forts and trading posts to reach from Quebec to the Pacific Ocean, and turned the full tide of French effort into the Mississippi valley. There, in 1764, after the fall of the French empire east of the Mississippi, St. Louis was founded by the Louisiana Fur Company. The leader in this settlement was Auguste Chouteau, representing Pierre Liguette Laclède. By this time, there were in the great Mississippi valley three centers of settlement: that about New Orleans, near the Gulf, that about Kaskaskia, and that about



Vincennes. The new settlement of St. Louis was not destined to surpass for many years to come these older towns.

At the time of the fall of Quebec, 1759, there were beyond the Appalachians six thousand whites and half-breeds and two thousand black slaves. Of these, a half lived most of the time in the towns, the rest were *voyageurs*, *coureurs de bois*, and *soldats*, who came and went. Even the *habitants*, however, hardly regarded themselves as permanent settlers. They hoped to make money here and to go back to France rich men. They were mostly traders rather than workers, speculators rather than producers. A few of them were Germans whose industrious lives were a reproach to all others save the lash-driven blacks. The land that they settled is still known as the *German coast*. All the French looked to the government at Quebec for subsidies, directions, and protection. They were not self-governing, but were obedient subjects of the French king and of his representative in the New World.

Quality of the Settlers

The people of the valley had no morals. They cheated the Indians and their employers. Neither men nor women paid any regard to the marriage tie. Bloody affrays and murders were common. But they were generally happy, because irresponsible and care-free. They danced through the winter and celebrated all Sundays and saints' days as holidays. As for the magnificent timber, agricultural, and mineral, resources of the valley, they barely scratched its surface here and there with a pin-point of industrial activity. Yet at New Orleans, many of them lived in elegance, wearing silks, velvets, and gold lace that would have

befitted the Court of any Louis of France. Scarcely better than the Indians with whom all save the few élite associated in trade and in wedlock, they developed in the valley a few centers of European civilization represented in some of its noisiest, gaudiest, and basest elements. In competition with the English about to come across the Appalachians, the French were certain to be worsted. They were but few in numbers. They sold at higher prices,—on Lake Erie two beaver skins would buy of the English traders (of whom many were of Dutch descent) as much in the way of cloth, beads, hatchets, powder, rum, as ten skins would buy of the French. They had no solidly self-supporting, economic life; and the birth-rate was low. The Frenchwomen preferred the gifts of various men rather than a share in the earnings or gains of but one. The valley was not a colony but a camp.

Beyond the valley lay the plains, and beyond the plains were the Rocky Mountains, where no white men wandered. In the Southwest, Spain had her possessions. Early in the eighteenth century (1717), Texas received its name from the Tejas confederacy of some thirty Indian tribes of the region. La Salle had begun the

struggle for possession by founding the ill-fated colony of St. Louis there in 1682. After the early destruction of this settlement, the Spaniards undertook various missions upon or near the Rio Grande. But, in the

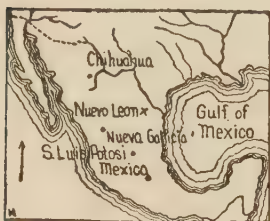


first quarter of the century, Spain was very weak, having at first no sovereign in reality and later two sovereigns struggling against one another for control. If France had not then been facing all the European world, an unequal match, she might easily have won the valley and all the Southwest. In the interests of France, Bienville, Cadillac, La Harpe, Juchereau, and Saint-Denis endeavored to establish a regular trade with the Indians and Spanish in Texas. But Governor Alarçon, viceroy of New Spain, and Padre Margil, superior of the Texan missions, suspected their designs and thwarted their fulfilment. In these negotiations, one Domingo Ramón made himself famous by trying to serve the two opponents at the same time and by measurably succeeding. A year before New Orleans was founded (1718), there were some ten well-established Spanish missions in Texas.

Upon this ecclesiastical foundation, the settlement of Texas began. These settlements were of three kinds,—the mission for Christianizing the Indians and for teaching them agriculture and the industrial arts, the pueblo or village, and the presidio, which was a military fort with barracks for Spanish soldiers. On the work of the good fathers in the missions, some further comment will be made in the last division of this narrative. The pueblo, as it grew larger, might hope to become a villa, or even a city. The local government was composed of a council, with judicial, executive, and legislative functions. Though nominally elected, the councilors had no real power, for the Council of the Indies far away in Spain prescribed

**Political
Institutions**

every detail of municipal government. The members of that great Council were the appointees of the Spanish king. There was



great confusion in all local matters, for military questions must be referred to one superior, the commandant at Chihuahua, financial to another, the intendant at San Luis Potosí, ecclesiastical

to the bishop at Nuevo León, and civil to the *audiencia* of Nueva Galicia. The delays in action upon the most trivial matters were so great as vitally to affect the spread of settlement.

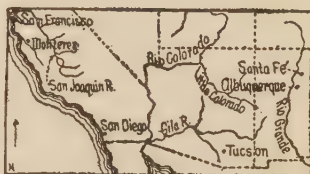
In Texas, but three really important communities were developed, San Antonio, La Bahia, and Nacogdoches. Of these, the earliest was San Antonio. The presidio there was established in 1718. The mission followed at

Slight Progress

once. In 1744, the famous Alamo mission and chapel were founded there. San Fernando was begun as early as 1731, and received in all some thirty families of deported Canary Islanders, the story of whose unhappiness in Texas is sad to read. This villa was finally annexed to San Antonio. Of the founding of La Bahia by Spanish soldiers fleeing from the attack of the French upon Pensacola, 1719, of De Bienville, a true hero of New France, of Governors Sandoval and De Franquis, and of the other interesting events and picturesque personages in eighteenth-century Texas, it is unnecessary to write in detail. The leaders fixed the boundary between Louisiana and Texas, they tried to manage the vile traders and the viler soldiers, they avoided the

Apaches and Comanches as far as possible, but fought them when they must; and from much the same causes as were operative in Canada they failed to develop a true and enduring civilization.

In New Mexico, Albuquerque was founded in the first years of the eighteenth century. Santa Fé dates from a hundred years farther back in history, as does Tucson in Arizona. In the southern and central districts, many small missions were established, as in Mexico and Texas. The California missions date from 1769, that at San Diego being established in that year, and that at Monterey in 1770. The splendid, but by no means altogether admirable, history of these missions covers the seventy-five years that followed before the downfall of Mexican power.



CHAPTER X

THE NAVIGATION ACTS

THERE is no topic in American history, whether colonial or national, that is more generally not understood or misunderstood than that of the **Marine Supremacy** various so-called navigation acts, or laws of trade, by which England sought to control all commerce between the American colonies and the rest of the world. Bancroft, the historian of the colonial period, states the number of such acts as twenty-nine. It is not possible in the space available here, nor would it be profitable, were the space sufficient, to enumerate all these acts and to discuss fully the important ones. But their general nature, their purpose, their results, their relation to certain other legislative acts of the period from 1650 to 1775, and their likeness in policy to the navigation acts of other nations demand and will repay brief consideration.

From the time of Richard II., England has realized that her insular position requires especial attention to her shipping interests. She began then to protect and to encourage that marine commerce which has been the most important factor in her economic prosperity and the basis of her international power. England became the greatest nation of the world

because she won the supremacy of the seas. She belongs in the line of the maritime empires,—Tyre, Sidon, Carthage, Byzantium, Venice, Genoa, London. And what is London but the brain and heart of England?

It was in the year 1647 that the English Parliament (the Rump) passed an ordinance authorizing shipments to Virginia, Bermuda, and Barbados, duty free, upon condition that these colonies should trade exclusively with England. This was free trade within the Empire with protection against all other nations. In 1651, Parliament enacted that all merchandise from Asia, Africa, and America must be transported in English-built vessels, owned by Englishmen or by English colonials, and navigated by English captains and crews, and that all trade with European countries must be carried on either by English ships or by the ships of the particular country from which the goods came. This was a definite blow at Holland, then supreme upon the seas. The purposes of this act were several. In the first place, the Dutch Republic had just refused to agree to a union with the English Commonwealth because the Parliament had made as a condition precedent to such union the surrender of the royalist supporters of the Stuart family who had found sanctuary across the North Sea. It was, indeed, Mary, a daughter of Charles I., whom William, the eldest son of Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, had married in 1641. In this incident began the bitterness between England and Holland. Even in the interest of Protestant republicanism, the Dutch Republic could not violate the

**Dutch
Commerce**

traditions of a century as an asylum of the unfortunate. In the second place, the English had begun to fear the commercial power of the Dutch people, then so much greater than their own as to make their competition upon even terms seem hopeless.

In the third place, England had been ruled in the interest of her merchants since the earliest days of the Tudors, as indeed, for periods before, she had often been ruled. And the **Commercial Self-interest** Puritan merchants of the Commonwealth saw in a monopoly of the colonial trade the opportunity for greater and more regular profits. In the fourth place, such a restriction as that imposed by this first true navigation act, of the year 1651, was the common practice of all nations of the times. The Spanish Council of the Indies dealt far less liberally with the American colonies under its control than Parliament was proposing to do by this act. The States-General were less liberal. Neither Spain nor Holland allowed to the colonists freedom of trade with the home country.

As the general free-trade act of 1647 had been foreshadowed by the free-trade act of 1642, passed by the Long Parliament exclusively for the benefit of New England, so this first general navigation act had been foreshadowed by the act of 1645 which prohibited the importation into England of whale-oil and of other whale products save in English ships manned by English seamen.

Whaling was but a small industry before the schooner was invented, but this regulation did not encourage its development. In 1649 and in 1650, other preliminary acts were passed against the importation

of French wines, wool, and silk into England and against any trade by foreign vessels with the American colonies. Yet none of these acts nor all of them together completely expressed the system that the legislators of England proposed to develop. At the time of the Revolution, Adam Smith, greatest of economists, pronounced the system "a manifest violation of the rights of mankind." This opinion of the founder of the science of political economy was no doubt correct, but it ran counter to all national policies of the times. The system was based upon two ideas: that all colonies exist for the benefit of the mother country, and that by legislative interference with trade and manufacture a nation can be made more prosperous than otherwise it would be. The design of these trade laws was not to hurt America but solely to benefit England,—a general fact to which the bounties upon naval stores were an exception in appearance only.

This system of trade regulation found its first complete expression in the so-called first navigation act, passed in 1660 by the Convention Parliament and confirmed in 1661 by the Parliament of the Restoration.

**Important
Acts**

"[I.] For the increase of Shipping and incouragement of the Navigation of this Nation, wherein under the good providence and protection of God the Wealth Safety and Strength of this Kingdome is soe much concerned Bee it Enacted by the Kings most Excellent Majesty and by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and the Authoritie therof That . . . noe Goods or Commodities whatsoever shall be Imported into or Exported out of any Lands Iselands Plantations or Territories to his Majesty

belonging . . . in Asia Africa or America in any other Ship or Ships Vessell or Vessells whatsoever but in such Ships or Vessells as doe truely and without fraude belong onely to the people of England or Ireland Dominion of Wales or Towne of Berwicke upon Tweede, or are of the built of, and belonging to any of the said Lands Islands Plantations or Territories as the Proprietors and right owners therof and wherof the Master and three fourthes of the Marriners at least are English under the penalty of the Forfeiture," etc. . . . [The navy was to seize all vessels violating the law, and admiralty courts (without juries) were to render judgment.] . . . [Fish and whale-products brought by vessels not English must pay "double Aliens custome."] . . . Russia was attacked in these words,—"[VIII.] And it is further Enacted . . . That noe Goods or Commodities or the Growth Production or Manufacture of Muscovy or of any the Countreyes Dominions or Territories to the Great Duke or Emporer of Muscovia or Russia belonging, As alsoe that noe sorts of Masts Timber or boards no forraigne Salt Pitch Tar Rozin Hempe or Flax Raizins Figs Prunes Olive Oyles or noe Sorts of Corne or Graine Sugar Pot-ashes Wines Vinegar or Spirits called Aqua-vite or Brandy Wine shall . . . be imported" save in English ships, etc. Similarly, the "Currants" and other "Commodities of the growth production or Manufacture . . . of the Othoman or Turkish Empire" must come only in English bottoms.

"[XVIII.] And it is further Enacted . . . That . . . noe Sugars Tobaccho Cotton Wool Indicoes Ginger Fustick or other dyeing wood of the Growth Production or Manufacture of any English Plantations in America Asia or Africa shall be shipped carryed conveyed or transported from any of the said English Plantations to any Land Island Territory Dominion Port or place whatsoever other then to such . . . English Plantations as doe belong to His Majesty . . . there to be laid on shore under the penalty of the Forfeiture of the said Goods or the full value thereof, as alsoe of the Ship with all her Guns Tackle Apparel Ammunition and Furniture, the one Moyety to the Kings Majesty . . . and the other

moyety to him or them that shel seize informe or sue for the same in any Court of Record by Bil Plaint or Information wherein noe Essoyne Protection or Wager of Law shall be allowed." Another article provided for heavy surety for all cargoes as a guarantee of their going in a legal manner to their proper destinations.

The navigation act of 1663 went still further, as its preamble shows. The act was entitled "AN ACT for the Encouragement of Trade." A more truthful, but to modern ideas less humorous, title would have been "AN ACT for the Enrichment of English Merchants."

"[IV.] AND in reguard His Majesties Plantations beyond the Seas are inhabited and peopled by His Subjects of this His Kingdome of England, For the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindnesse betweene them and keepinge them in a firmer dependance upon it, and rendring them yet more beneficiall and advantagious into it in the farther Imployment and Encrease of English Shipping and Seamen, vent of English Woolen and other Commodities rendring the Navigation to and from the same more safe and cheape, and makeing this Kingdome a Staple not onely of the Commodities of those Plantations but alsoe of the Commodities of other Countries and Places for the Supplying of them, and it being the usage of other Nations to keep their Plantation Trade to themselves, Be it enacted "that all merchandise must be transported in English ships going by way of England. Exceptions were made of salt for the New England fisheries and the wines of Madeira and the Azores, of "servants and horses" from Ireland and Scotland, and of "Victuall . . . of Ireland." The last article was as follows:— "AND it is hereby further enacted That if any Officer of the Customes in England, Wales or Towne of Berwick upon Tweede shall give any Warrant for or suffer any Sugar, Tobaccho, Ginger, Cotton, Wooll, Indico Speckle Wood or Jamaica Wood Fusticke or other Dying Wood of the growth of any of the said Lands

Islands Colonies Plantations Territories or Places to be carried into any other Country or Place whatsoever untill they have beene first unladed bona fide and putt on shore in some Port or Haven in England or Wales or in the Towne of Berwicke, that every such Officer for such Offence shall forfeite his place and the value of such of the said Goods as he shall give Warrant for or suffer to passe into any other Country or Place."

Such were the first of the navigation acts. Their quaint and erratic grammar, diction, spelling, and punctuation are less archaic and vagrant than the ideas and principles that their words expressed. The later acts simply developed these ideas and principles and made their own enforcement more and more impossible. By their very exactions, they put a premium upon smuggling. The navigation act of 1672 required a bond from the merchant to land the "enumerated articles" in England, and imposed a duty in case of failure to do so; for example, "For Tobacco the pound one penny . . . for every pound of Cacao-nutts one penny . . . For Sugar White . . . five shillings the hundred Weight containing one hundred and twelve pounds." It imposed the same duties upon commerce between the colonies themselves as between the colonies and foreign countries. The navigation act of 1696 provided for a registry of English ships. The famous "Molasses Act" of 1733 was renewed every five years until, at the time of the passage of the Sugar Act, 1764, it was made perpetual, though the duties were reduced one half. The merchants of New England and of the Middle Colonies were growing rich upon the trade with the West Indies. By this trade,

fish, lumber, cattle, and agricultural products were exchanged for sugar, molasses, rum, and Negroes. Its profits enabled the colonials in America to buy goods manufactured in England.

In 1717, France adopted certain changes in her commercial policy so that the sugar of the French West Indies displaced the sugar of the British West Indies in European markets.

**The West
Indies**

To protect her brandies, France prohibited the importation of rum so that the molasses producers of the French West Indies were forced to find a market in the English colonies. Undoubtedly, at this time, the merchants of England valued the West Indies more highly than the colonies upon the continent of America.

The further development of this subject upon its economic side, together with a discussion of the various laws relating to colonial manufacture, is reserved for a later division of this narrative. Our concern here is with

**Political
Aspects**

the political effects of these various measures. The first significant feature is that they were not and could not be regularly enforced. The Molasses Act was almost a dead letter. At the present time, we call all violations of such laws smuggling; but it is questionable whether we are warranted in thus styling the wholesale violations practised all through the latter half of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth till the time of the War of Independence. In such an age, in whose first period so many seamen were pirates, and through whose entire duration practically no seamen conformed to the law, the truth was that a legislature was passing acts

essentially incapable of enforcement. Now the essence of law is the sanction; and only the power of enforcing the sanction makes law a political reality. That is no government which cannot govern, but may only anathematize and irritate, as Governor Bellomont did when he visited the sailors of Newport.

This failure of England to enforce the navigation acts brought her government into the contempt of the colonials. This was a fact bitter enough of itself to patriotic Englishmen, but to it was added another: that the colonials hated the home country almost as much for passing the acts without enforcing them as they would have hated England, had the acts been enforced. In fact, at the time of the Revolution not a few Loyalists justified their course by alleging the leniency of England in enforcing this marine legislation. On the other hand, the Patriots alleged that England would have enforced the acts, if she could have afforded to do so. As it was, the cost of policing the seas and the ports was prohibitive. The acts themselves and their partial enforcement were largely instrumental in alienating the colonies from the mother country. Unadorned selfishness is never popular. England hoped to get the agricultural produce of America cheap, by restricting the market and by stimulating the supply through the prohibition of manufacturing. The surplus of American imports that she did not want she proposed to sell in foreign markets. The colonists saw this plan in its true light, and resented it. Many of the best of them became so-called smugglers, in broad daylight, sailing their vessels into Boston or New York harbor, and,

without a quiver of conscience, coolly bribing the customs officer to pass their cargoes without examination. As for the Virginians, with their wharves upon tidewater, they shipped tobacco direct to the French coast and brought back French wines and silks with never a thought of customs officers. In that period, it became a recognized principle of American business to evade the law by permitting only its nominal enforcement.

As a matter of ethics, it is difficult to decide whether the London merchant dictating the legislation of Parliament for his benefit, or the Boston merchant, bribing or escaping the officers sent to carry out that legislation, was the more dishonorable citizen. The crisis in the situation came when by writs of assistance England proposed to invade those castles of Englishmen, their homes, and to seize there any goods whose entry was prohibited or made subject to tax. But this crisis, arising in Massachusetts in the first years of the reign of George III., was in part the product of still deeper forces in human nature than simply the economic desire to buy freely in the cheapest market and to sell in the dearest. An account of it belongs in the following chapters of this narrative, for the struggle over the writs was an important phase of the revolution that was going on in the minds of colonial Englishmen.

Writs of
Assistance

CHAPTER XI

THE REVOLUTION IN THE MINDS OF MEN

IN 1696, the immediate oversight of the British colonies in America passed from the privy council to the board of trade and plantations. **Popular Pre-possessions** It was a significant and a momentous change. The privy council primarily concerned the King, while the actions of the board concerned Parliament also. Therein lay the root of much of the trouble between the colonies and England. Did the colonies belong to the Crown or to England? to the empire only or to the realm? to King or to Parliament? The question is of theoretical interest merely as a matter of political science; but it might be called the key question of terribly practical importance in those days that tried men's souls and set them apart as Patriots and Loyalists to make war upon one another. The Revolution was so long ago (for in a profound sense it preceded the War of Independence) that now we are able to discuss it dispassionately. Its main principle was the chief issue of the debate among the grandfathers of the great-grandfathers of this present generation. Americans are so averse to monarchy that it is hard for us to understand why the men of the political revolution, the men of the fifteen

years of 1760 to 1774 inclusive (comprising half a generation), staked all their arguments upon the proposition that they were subjects not of Parliament but of the Crown. These builders of the republic rejected English democracy, the Parliament guaranteed in Magna Carta, and defended the prerogatives of the Crown as jealously as any Stuart, as boldly as any Tudor. Before we may fully appreciate what was in their minds and hearts, we must dispossess ourselves of several erroneous though popular prejudices.

We must fix clearly in our minds the facts presented in an earlier volume of this narrative as evidence that the various political and religious institutions under which the colonists of 1760 were living were not purely English institutions transplanted in America, but rather institutions partly English and partly Dutch. Of these, the Dutch secret ballot and the Dutch sharply defined, coördinate, taxing jurisdictions are especially to be emphasized. We may note here also the Dutch federal state of nine provinces as compared with the English central state with other completely subordinate dominions and the Dutch stadtholderate, for a long time elective, as compared with the English hereditary monarchy. Coincident with the rivalries and antagonism between England and Holland in the Old World was the development of rivalry and antagonism in the English-Dutch New World that was about to set itself against England. Or we may express this principle by a denial that England was literally the mother-country of her American colonies. She was

Not
Exclusively
English

the most important of the mother-countries because she sent to us more people than any other, gave us our language, and acquired dominion over us all. Yet even the first of these statements is only technically true, for more Scotch-Irish came from Ireland and Scotland than Englishmen from England.

These were, however, as we have seen, true Anglo-Saxons, in their political ideals and methods. By 1760, with the thousands of settlers who were not English or Scotch-Irish,—the Germans, the French Huguenots, the Swiss, the Dutch, the Swedes, and Finns, and unfortunately the Negroes,—colonial America had acquired many ideas that were by no means English. We can see this spirit of alienation conspicuously displayed after 1763 in the political relations between England and Canada, where the English were greatly in the minority. This point must be discussed later in the narrative, in connection with the account of the Quebec Act of 1764.

Early in our consideration of the nature and causes of the preliminary revolution, we must dis-
Patriotism possess our minds of the idea that those who stood by England, the much-ob-jurgated Loyalists, were the people who changed their minds, became traitors to the government of America, were the parties politically in guilt. On the contrary, the men who changed their minds were men like James Otis, formerly attorney for the Crown in Massachusetts and George Washington, formerly of the royal Governor's party in Virginia. We must, therefore, as loyal Americans, lovers of our country, defenders of her history, freely admit, boldly proclaim that treason against government

may be patriotism, and that in 1775 it was patriotism. The very word "patriot" helps us to reach this view, for the patriot is the native, and patriotism is the love borne by the native to his own country, devotion to the land of one's birth. Geographically, colonial America was too far away from England—some three thousand miles, a sailing voyage of from three to six weeks—for any possible misunderstanding of the word. The colonial patriot loved Massachusetts or Virginia, not England or Ireland or Scotland. He loved the land that was his own birthplace, not that of his ancestors. Indeed, in many cases none of the ancestors of the colonial patriot had ever seen England.

As Wendell, the literary historian of America, has so emphatically declared and so conclusively shown, the colonials of the eighteenth century were not the intellectual contemporaries of the home-people of that time but rather of the Englishmen of the times of Elizabeth, the first James, and the first Charles. They had not shared directly in the political development of the reigns of the second Charles, of William III., and of the first two Georges. They believed that Parliament made laws for England and the Crown for the colonies. They were sticklers for the prerogatives of the King. The greater he was, the more they could govern themselves by their own colonial legislatures, untrammelled by the will or the wishes of the national legislature of England. They desired the protection of English sovereignty and the freedom of colonial remoteness and isolation. Any prophetic vision of an electric cable across

**For the
Crown,
against
Parliament**

the Atlantic would have been an intolerable nightmare to these New World Englishmen.

In the American sense, even at the present time, the British Parliament is not a representative body.

In 1760, it was far less so than now.

American Idea of Representation In the American sense, a representative officer means one who stands for the persons of the electors, for a constituency, and who by their own choice is a delegate from them. He is a resident of their district, pledged to the platform of the party of the majority, but responsible to all the people. In our sense of the word, a representative political body means one that contains delegates from all parts of the jurisdiction. Finally, in the American sense, the representative body represents practically all male persons over twenty-one years of age. But in England, in 1760, Parliament represented the lords and the commons, that is, the two classes of Englishmen. In fact, for centuries the commons had been but a fiction, for the voters were carefully restricted, and many country districts, towns, and cities had no members in the lower house. Further, when the towns and boroughs did have members, these persons were seldom residents of their districts. In but one sense was the lower house representative: its members generally did come from among the untitled people, though in many instances they were the nominees, tools, even direct appointees of the lords of the upper house, if not junior members of the families of these lords. To the American colonial, "taxation without representation" meant taxation from across the sea, for there all taxation was

without representation, since scarcely five per cent. of English taxpayers were represented in Parliament. A nation of eight million people had in 1765 but one hundred and sixty thousand electors.

We must dispossess our minds of the notion that American colonials received but few ideas from across the ocean and all these from England. On the contrary, Americans received many European ideas, and these came largely from countries other than England. They seemed to know but little of the development of the two English, eighteenth-century political ideas, the constitution and the cabinet. They were disposed to resist George III., not because he was a reactionary and sought to bring back to the Crown its former sovereignty, but because that sovereignty in more ancient times had been customarily resisted by direct violence done to the tax-collector. The unrepresented taxpayers of England resisted the King's officers in lieu of having a representative speak and vote against the King's measures in Parliament. In fact, the colonial Englishman oversea looked upon the Crown as the government, and Parliament as but one means by which the King ruled. This was not only theoretically correct but almost literally true, for by packing the boroughs with his men and by creating new boroughs, a kingly prerogative, the King made Parliament represent himself rather than the nation. To this point we must return shortly.

These English facts and certain new English theories the colonials knew but slightly, and understood but vaguely. The minds of not a few

**Dutch,
Swiss,
Italian
Ideas**

of them were influenced rather by the democratic ideas then in course of discussion by philosophers upon the continent of Europe. Their fundamental doctrine was that of the Italian Beccaria, "Every act of authority of one man over another for which there is not absolute necessity is tyrannical." They found the wisdom for America in the wisdom of all the world's greatest thinkers, Jew, Greek, Roman, Swiss, Italian, German, Dutch, French, as well as English. Their new principle that a just government can exist only by the consent of the governed had never been so expressed in words or implied in acts by conventional Englishmen. Yet the principle of the rights of men to liberty and to equality under law was the moving cause of the Revolution. It was the fire in the American heart. It was a religious idea, coming by way of Calvinism from the lips of One who said, "All ye are brethren." It is customary to minimize this idea; but to do so is to make impossible of explanation the fact that no title of nobility was ever allowed by this new nation. If our forefathers had been merely echoing English patriotism and Dutch tolerance, they, too, would have set up nobility and aristocracy among us. We certainly did a new thing in world history. Whence did we get the idea? Partly upon this new soil because it was difficult to transplant here the old ideas of class and caste; but mainly from certain philosophers who, though living in real countries, were citizens of the ideal world of the future.

Our forefathers submitted their minds to higher thought; reading few books, but reading certain

very noble ones, and reading them well. Among such authors we do well to remember Hooker and Locke, the English philosophers; Grotius, the Dutch; Puffendorf, the German; Beccaria, the Italian; Burlamaqui, the Italian Swiss; and Montesquieu, the Frenchman. Colonial thinkers also read Voltaire and the writings of the Encyclopædists. They studied that sentence of Beccaria which declares that "in every human society there is an effort continually tending to confer on one part the highest power and happiness and to reduce the other to the extreme of weakness and misery." From this doctrine the conclusion that government as it actually existed was a conspiracy of the privileged against all others was natural and logical. Not being anarchists, the colonials began to discuss how to make government an instrument for improving the general welfare. They talked much about "natural law" and the "state of nature"; and Patrick Henry went so far as to affirm that the colonies were in that state. Burlamaqui, the Italian Protestant exiled to Switzerland, declared:

"Natural society is a state of equality and liberty, a state in which all men enjoy the same prescriptive rights, and an entire independence of any other power than God, for by nature every man is master of himself, and equal to his fellows. . . . The mind of man reasons aright and has within itself strength enough to find and to know truth and to separate it from error. . . . The knowledge of the excellence of a superior does not of itself afford me a motive sufficient to cause me to subject myself to him, and to lead me to give up my own will in order to take his for my law; . . . my intelligence is sufficient to direct my conduct."

These ideas had first been developed in the field of religion and became associated under the term "Protestantism." They were now to be developed in the field of government and to be known as Americanism. They were to batter down English bureaucracy in the colonies in 1776 and to overwhelm American Negro slavery in 1863. What they are yet to accomplish no man can foresee. But they are true to the teaching of the Master, who said, "I came that ye might have life and that ye might have it more abundantly," and "He that would be the greatest among you, let him be the servant of all"; and they are certain to inspire the soul of man as he marches onward to the end.

They inspired the Declaration, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." The right to life meant the right not to be ordered to war by a king; the right to liberty, the right not to be jailed by a creditor; the right to pursue happiness, the right to be a clergyman, though one's father was a carpenter. And the equality meant equality before the law: equal rights to vote, to hold office, to sue, to defend, to purchase or to sell land, and other rights that are now to us mere matters of common usage and common sense, but which were not so in 1776.

To a fair understanding of the causes of the revolution in the minds of men, by which a party of patriots opposed to English rule grew up and open war resulted, it is necessary to recognize the

fact that in 1775 only a bare majority of the colonials were ready to make even a show of armed resistance to England. Only a small minority were then ready to fight for actual independence. The purpose of a considerable number, including George Washington, was to follow the old practice of resisting the Crown and thus of compelling the government to withdraw from its course. Very recently, a similar action had been taken when King George II., and Walpole, and a large majority in Parliament had decided in favor of an Excise Bill; the unrepresented people arose here and there in arms, and Walpole, following his maxim, "Let sleeping dogs lie," precipitately withdrew the Bill. This fact of there being at least three main parties among the colonists, that of the "rights of man" and that of the "rights of Englishmen," both for armed resistance, and that of the loyal supporters of King and Parliament, shows at once that the revolution in the minds of men affected but a portion and not the major portion of our people. We must, therefore, regard the American Revolution (at least at the outset) as a partisan rather than a national affair. As we shall see, this was not equally true of the preliminary political movement and of the war that followed, for as the latter advanced, more and more people and a greater and greater proportion of them, owing to the departure of Loyalists to England, to Canada, and to the West Indies, were drawn into the party of the Patriots. Thus a movement that in 1770 represented but a fraction of the people, by 1781 represented a very large majority.

**A Small
Majority**

Similarly, in order to understand the change in the minds of men in the period from 1760 to 1774, we must dispossess ourselves of the **The Divided English** idea that we were at war with the whole English people. In fact, we were at war with but a small part,—that which controlled the government. In order to show this, it is unnecessary to recall the fact that King George had to hire the enslaved subjects of German princes in order to make up an army in America, so difficult was it to get Englishmen for the war, for it is enough to remind ourselves that by far the greater part of the English people were either indifferent or entirely opposed to the attempt to subjugate the rebellious colonials. The rest were the Tories and certain allied mercantile and landed classes. These, and these only, believed in the war. In a later volume of this narrative, it will be necessary to show the actual military results of the Whig disaffection. It is enough to say here that a united England would certainly have subdued a disunited and a divided array of colonies upon the western coast of the Atlantic.

Again, it is necessary to dispossess our minds of the notion that in attacking King George as the **George III. Criticised** cause of all our woes the authors of the Declaration of Independence made a very curious error. We are dealing here with a difficult and somewhat subtle matter of political science. When we say, as we may say correctly, that Parliament was supreme in England and meant to be equally supreme in America, we may seem to be contradicting the

statement that the colonies were correct in their antagonism to the King and in their holding him responsible for the violation of their rights as men and as Englishmen. But the fact was that the King had secured control of the Cabinet and of Parliament as well, and through them was effecting his will. There had been, indeed, a very great development in the political institutions of England since the days of Elizabeth and James, whose ideas were the political traditions of America. Of this development, the American colonials knew almost nothing; but in the whirligig of time, their criticisms of royal power, based upon knowledge of Tudor and Stuart prerogatives, applied in a considerable measure to the third Hanoverian monarch. In a sense, one may say correctly that by 1770 George III., through constitutional processes, had acquired *de facto* the powers that Charles I. claimed *in nomine*, asserting the royal prerogative. Of this matter certain aspects of major importance will be dealt with fully in a later volume of this narrative.

Living as Americans of the twentieth century in the atmosphere of fairly harmonious and successful democracy, it is difficult for us to dispossess ourselves of these democratic ideas and to realize that the War of Independence that resulted from the revolution in the minds of men was significant, chiefly not because it established a new nation in the world, but because it necessarily established a nation of republican institutions. Of the process of the evolution of political society two opposite views

Monarchy
vs.
Republic

may be presented; one that a people tends to progress from democracy and communism to monarchy and individualism; the other, that the progress is from tyranny and anarchy through monarchy to democracy and socialism. To a degree, Greece and Rome illustrate the former opinion, while France illustrates the latter. The issue is whether republicanism is a high or a low stage of political development. It is not necessary to consider here either the true relation of democracy and republicanism or whether a monarchy is upon a higher or a lower political stage than a republic; but to an understanding of the American Revolution it is essential to see that the rebellion was against monarchy and for a republic. Politically, it is to us a matter of far greater significance that we are republicans than that we are not colonials. In short, the significance of the independence won by arguments of Henry, Otis, and Adams that caused Washington to draw sword from scabbard was that the independence was only the means to an end, that end being popular self-government in every part of the body politic. Our forefathers said that (to use the phrases of Emerson) they were "tired of kings" and would "suffer them no more."

Still another prepossession is that due to the fact that most of the knowledge of Americans regarding our history is derived from school texts
A Slow Growth studied in years of immaturity. We seem generally to believe that the Stamp Act caused the Revolution; or at best that the Act and its successors caused the Revolution. Such a belief ignores two facts: that the spirit of rebellion

was of very slow growth, having many a setback, and that the precise date of its origin cannot be determined. The exiled Pilgrims at Leyden had the spirit of rebellion. The followers of Bacon manifested it. Geographically and chronologically separated though they were, the American Revolution and the English Revolution were in many aspects one. Every good measure of the English government delayed the War of Independence; every arbitrary, unwise, antagonistic measure advanced it. As a serious disease of the human body is often years in developing, so this political disease was present in the American colonial constitution many years before its outbreak. Given the causes, conditions, circumstances, occasions, personalities, and relations, the war was inevitable; but it is easy now to imagine such changes in those causes and occasions and personalities as would have postponed the rebellion for generations, perhaps forever. Be this as it may, it is certain that neither Stamp Act nor Boston Port Bill suddenly caused the insurrection. They afforded the stimulating occasions for the patriotic to rise up and to come together for speech and for action.

Still another prepossession of the popular mind must be corrected. It has already been suggested. The truth is not that the English officials at home devised of their own notion the measures that so greatly irritated the colonists or that the chief personal bitterness in America was against the leaders in England, but that English Crown officers were the prime movers in many details, and were often, perhaps usually,

**Colonial
Officers**

offensive in their relations to the colonials. This is not to call these subordinates the responsible agents; the real responsibility lay over the sea. But the governors, the judges, the tax-collectors, were constantly stirring up trouble in the colony and writing letters home. Indeed, most of them finally went back, with all the unpleasant reports that are always so common upon the lips of travelers and temporary sojourners in regard to new countries.

Upon these eleven points, many Americans have held incorrect notions, which placed both the United States and England in false because in historically untrue relations with one another. In a later chapter, it will be appropriate to discuss the colonial relation itself which has been historically misconceived. For the present, we may consider a few facts that tend to show what the truth requires us to believe in this whole great matter.

While the board of trade and plantations was nominally in charge of the colonies, it must make its recommendations through the Secretary of State for the South, who was both in executive control and also in effective relation with Parliament and King. During those important years of American colonial development, 1724-48, the Secretary of State for the South was the Duke of Newcastle, who lived too gay a life to give any particular attention to the business of his office. The reports of the board of trade and plantations lay year after year unread in his office. The American colonial agents found that the only way to get a matter of business before him was by interview, for their letters were

**Board of
Trade and
Plantations**

systematically neglected. After him came the Duke of Bedford, an energetic man without intelligence, judgment, or docility. During his time, the head of the board of trade and plantations, Lord Halifax, secured the right to lay certain matters directly before the Privy Council and thus brought colonial affairs one step nearer to Parliament.

Remembering now the local and colonial governments in the colonies themselves, we are in a position to understand how they were really governed. Their charters and patents **English Control** and governors all came from the Crown, with (and without) the advice and consent of the privy council and of the board of trade and plantations. Their own internal laws they made themselves by their truly representative assemblies, subject to the vetoes of the governor and (outside of Rhode Island and Connecticut) of the Crown. But they bought their governors by the bribe of the annual salary grant, very much as the Englishmen of Old England for centuries had bought and forced their great rights and their lesser laws by withholding from or granting sums of money to their kings. They greatly influenced and at times actually controlled the Crown by granting or withholding sums of money to pay the various minor colonial officers of the Crown. They were concerned with Parliament in respect to such external matters as the navigation acts, but even these depended for their enforcement upon the effective government, that is, the executive department,—the Crown.

With all its authority, therefore, Parliament was still comparatively weak. Much of the legislative

power of England was still really exercised by the kingly virtue of the prerogative. This term, which is more or less mysterious to men of the twentieth century, may perhaps be best defined as meaning the power that is taken for granted. The legislature sits occasionally, deliberates, debates, decides. Meantime, the business of the nation goes on and must go on without break. All the powers not actually in the hands of the legislature and of the courts must be in those of the executive officers. The Crown of England reserved all the powers not expressly alienated; and to say that a large part of English history consists of those events by which the powers of government have been stripped away from the monarch is to speak well within the mark. Just what the royal prerogative included at any particular time in English history it is difficult, usually impossible, now to determine. In 1760, it included less than in 1770 or in 1607 or in 1535, for George III., monarch of strong will and mediocre mind, won back much that William, Anne, and the first two Georges had lost. The American colonials preferred to be ruled by this royal prerogative rather than by Parliament, partly because the powers of the Crown were less definite and were more easily resisted than were those of Parliament, but chiefly because they were familiar with those powers and dreaded the new, unknown authority of the English legislature.

To illustrate the point that in the modern American sense Parliament was not a representative body, the case of the voters of Kent may be

cited. Toward the end of the reign of William III., the people of Kent (the most independent of all Englishmen) became convinced that France proposed to invade their county, and petitioned their members to secure from Parliament a sufficient body of troops for their protection. The signers of this petition, all of whom were men of standing, and voters, were summarily clapped into prison for their effrontery. The constituency of a member of Parliament is all England, and not a mere district. Again, in 1760, such cities as London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds had no members of Parliament to represent them in any sense at all.

**Parliament
not Repre-
sentative**

At this time, the membership of Parliament consisted of the lords and bishops in the upper house and of the country gentlemen and of the clients of the great lords in the lower house. The close union between the executive and the legislative functions of government may be realized from the fact that while no petty government employee might be also a member of Parliament, no high officer of the executive department could hold that office unless he was a member. The unblushing venality of this conspiracy against the welfare of the people is reflected in the fact that more than a hundred members were directly and openly interested in government contracts or in offices paid by fees and percentages upon the revenues. The father of the admirable William Pitt, than whom no nobler or grander statesman ever lived, bought

**A Private
Business**

the seat in Parliament for his son. To buy a seat in Parliament was as legitimate as to buy a commission in the army, and the price rose as high as four thousand pounds: government was for sale to the highest bidder. Votes were openly and systematically for sale, and the King himself, when he could not accomplish his purpose by the inexpensive device of threats, was accustomed to bribe the members. The King publicly auctioned off one office, thus advancing its price from forty to sixty thousand pounds. Government was a business whose purpose it was to help those engaged in it, and their friends, to get money.

The limit of the resources of the business was the patience of the unrepresented, unresisting, ignorant nation. Everything was taxed; the revenue officers counted the panes of glass in one's house. In 1763, the English debt was nearly one hundred and fifty million pounds; and the army contractors in Parliament, who had fattened upon the silent poverty of the nation, wished for another war. Since England could stand so much, why should not America be taxed a little?

With these general principles in mind, we are prepared to consider seriatim the events from 1760 to 1774 that accelerated the revolution in the minds of men and persuaded a majority of the colonial Englishmen, Dutchmen, and Frenchmen that they had become a new people, that they were not exiled Europeans but Americans. It remains to trace in another chapter the process by which the revolution went forward to its logical conclusion in colonial union.

CHAPTER XII

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION

THE history to be narrated in this chapter is essentially a continuation of the subject of the earlier chapter, in which were discussed certain facts of English and colonial affairs and their relations. The idea of colonial union did not originate in America. On the contrary, when suggested by the English government, it was vigorously opposed by nearly all colonials. In fact, it was not pressed by the Crown solely because of fear lest in establishing colonial union by a single government for all the provinces, the mother-country should create a sympathetic colonial union of the people of the various provinces against such a single government. The English at home talked of such a consolidation of the colonies into one colony in the hope that they would thereby get America more positively under their control, but they turned aside from any serious and continued attempt to effect the consolidation lest they make bad matters worse. Consequently, while the idea of union did not originate with the colonists, it was left to them to adopt it, as they finally did by the first Congress, that of 1774.

A Single Colony

The famous Albany Convention was held in the

year 1754. It was called by an order of the board of trade and plantations. To it came as representatives the most distinguished men of the eight northern colonies; and by it was adopted, in an amended form, the plan of union submitted by Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania. This plan, however, was not approved by the assembly of a single colony and was considered by the board of trade and plantations too democratic to be recommended by them for acceptance by the Crown. Portions of the plan itself and of the representation of the state of the colonies that precede it are of curious interest:

**The Albany
Convention**

“That the French Affairs relative to this Continent, are under one Direction, and constantly regarded by the Crown and Ministry, who are not insensible how great a Stride they would make towards an Universal Monarchy, if the British Colonies were added to their Dominions, and consequently the whole Trade of North-America engrossed by them. That the said Colonies being in a divided, disunited State, there has never been any joint Exertion of their Force or Council, to repel or defeat the Measures of the French; and particular Colonies are unable and unwilling to maintain the Cause of the whole. That there has been a very great Neglect of the Affairs of the Iroquoise, . . . and their Friendship and Alliance has been improved to private Purposes, for the Sake of Trade with them and the Purchase or Acquisition of their Lands, more than the Public Services. That they are supplied with Rum by the Traders, in . . . almost incredible Quantities . . . That the Granting or Patenting vast Tracts of Land to private Persons or Companies, without Conditions of speedy Settlements, has tended to prevent the strengthening the Frontiers of the particular Colony where such Tracts lie, and been Prejudicial to the rest. . . . That some discreet Person or Persons be appointed to reside con-

stantly among each Nation of Indians; such Person to have no Concern in Trade, and duly to communicate all Advices to the Superintendants [of Indian affairs]. That the Trade with the said Indians be well regulated, and made subservient to the Public Interest, more than to private Gain. That there be Forts built for the Security of each Nation, and the better carrying on the Trade with them. That warlike Vessels be provided, sufficient to maintain His Majesty's Right to a free Navigation on the several Lakes. That all future Purchases of Lands from the Indians be void, unless made by the Government where such Lands lie, and from the Indians in a Body, in their public Councils. That the Patentees or Possessors of large unsettled Territories, be enjoined to cause them to be settled in a reasonable Time, on pain of Forfeiture. . . . That the Bounds of those Colonies which extend to the South Seas, be contracted and limited by the Alleghenny or Apalachian Mountains; and that Measures be taken, for settling from time to time, Colonies of His Majesty's Protestant Subjects, Westward of said Mountains, in convenient Cantons, to be assigned for that Purpose. And finally, that there be an Union of His Majesty's several Governments on the Continent that so their Councils, Treasure, and Strength, may be employed in due Proportion, against their common Enemy."

The plan was expressed as follows:

"Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina, for their mutual Defence and Security, and for the Extending the British Settlements in North-America. That humble Application be made for an Act of the Parliament of Great-Britain, by Virtue of which One General Government may be formed in America, including all the said Colonies; within and under which Government, each Colony may retain its present Constitution, except in the Particulars wherein a Change may be directed by

the said Act, as hereafter follows. That the said General Government be administered by a President General, to be appointed and supported by the Crown; and a Grand Council, to be chosen by the Representatives of the People of the several Colonies, met in their respective Assemblies. . . . Mass. 7, N. H. 2, Conn. 5, R. I. 2, N. Y. 4, N. J. 3, Penna. 6, Md. 4, Va. 7, N. C. 4, S. C. 4: total 48 members. [Georgia was omitted.] . . . That after the first three Years, when the Proportion of Money arising out of each Colony to the General Treasury, can be known, the Number of Members to be chosen for each Colony, shall from time to time, in all ensuing [triennial] Elections, be regulated by that Proportion (yet so as that the Number to be chosen by any one Province, be not more than seven, nor less than two).” [The purpose of this general government was to exercise formally all the powers of the royal prerogative in respect to general laws of trade and taxation, to treaties with Indians, to granting lands, to building forts, to organizing the military and naval service, and to making new settlements.]

To say that this proposition for colonial union was wholly ignored is scarcely correct, for it was one of the factors that led to the appointment in 1756 of the Earl of Loudoun as titular governor of Virginia and commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. Pitt called him a “procrastinating imbecile.” Had he not been that, American liberty might have fared badly. The clever Franklin said of him, “He is like little St. George on the signboards,—always on horseback, but never goes forward.” Yet Loudoun was not wholly inefficient, for he succeeded, against public and official protests, in quartering his soldiers in the homes of both New York and Philadelphia. He spent only a year here, going to the siege of Louisbourg in 1757 and demonstrating before the world his extraordinary

incompetence. The office, however, that he held was never given up by Great Britain until the treaty of peace in 1783.

The history of the British colonies in America, from 1760 to 1774, is crowded with incidents, many of which were picturesque and significant. The political measures adopted by the government of England in this stormy time, the popular agitation resulting therefrom in America, and the progress of the spirit of liberty everywhere in the land afford material sufficient to fill this volume. Compression becomes impossible; and it is necessary to resort to selection and mere outline. The following topics must suffice, namely,—the American theory of taxation, writs of assistance and the work of James Otis, the Parsons' Cause in Virginia with some comment upon the part taken by Patrick Henry in arousing the spirit of resistance, changes in the British ministry, the vice-admiralty courts, the Stamp Act and its repeal, the appearance of the *Sons of Liberty*, non-importation agreements, the Townshend Acts, the Boston Massacre, and similar incidents elsewhere, the committees of correspondence with an account of Samuel Adams, Franklin in England, the five acts of the ministry of Lord North, the Boston Tea Party and resistance in other colonies, Edmund Burke, the Quebec Bill, and the First Continental Congress. What emotions stir in the breast of every American at the thought of these matters! The literary aspects of the great controversy,—Dickinson's *Farmer Letters*, the long debate between John Adams as *Novanglus* and Daniel Leonard as *Massachusettensis*, Otis's *Rights*

of the Colonies,—are dealt with in a later portion of this narrative.

At the beginning of the discussion with English statesmen as to the taxation of the colonies by

**Internal
Taxes**

Parliament, the colonial political philosophers advanced the theory that Parliament had absolute authority in America except in respect to internal taxation and to the royal prerogative. This was an admission that Parliament had the right to levy external taxes. The issue was joined at once both for definitions of internal and external taxes and for showing cause for making any such discrimination. In the discussion that ensued, the Patriots were soon overwhelmed, for upon argument it appeared that a tax upon property at the seacoast, whether for export or for import, is not essentially different from a tax upon property farther inland. Moreover, even if the two taxes were essentially different, the right to tax at all is the fundamental matter. To tax is to take for public uses a percentage from the goods of a private citizen: the right is the same whether at the margin of the sea, or in a custom-house, or in the neighboring town, or in the remote country. Their early defeat upon this issue forced the Patriots to take the stronger ground of *no taxation without representation*. When Franklin and a few others proposed colonial representation in Parliament two replies were made: England has representatives for her interests, her classes, not her population; and until the cities of England are represented, the colonies cannot be. Again, even if the colonies should be represented, they would be

outvoted. In short, representation by population was contrary to the private advantage of the political oligarchy then in control (as indeed it continued to be until the passage of the Reform Bill, 1832); and the true policy for American patriots was to resist all taxation by Parliament and to admit only the taxation by their own representative colonial assemblies.

In order to get the revenues due upon exports and imports, that is, external taxes, it was often necessary for the tax collectors to visit shops, stores, and houses. Traders ingenious enough to carry on under the flags of truce, (ingenuously granted by royal governors) the illegal commerce with St. Thomas and Eustatius, neutral ports, and with the French islands of the West Indies, were quick to plead the rights of the Englishman in his own house. Francis Bernard, who in 1760 became governor of Massachusetts, at once undertook to put a stop to smuggling. Chief Justice Thomas Hutchinson favored the issuance of writs of assistance, familiar warrants according to the common law to search for smuggled goods and to call upon private citizens to assist the officers of the law. The debate in court, upon the application of Surveyor-General Lechmere for a general writ, was a brilliant contest, requiring two hearings. The decision, which was undoubtedly good law, was in favor of the writ. For the surveyor-general appeared Jeremiah Gridley and Robert Auchmuty; against him, Oxenbridge Thacher, leader of the colonial bar, and James Otis, whose eloquence upon that occasion lifted him to the rank of American immortals. Otis was a graduate of Harvard and

**Writs of
Assistance**

a former law-student under Gridley, and had written a successful Latin textbook. At the Boston town-meeting, called to discuss the writs, he declared:

“A man’s house is his castle; and while he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince. . . . This writ . . . would totally annihilate this privilege. Custom-house officers may enter our houses when they please; we are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter—may break locks, bars, everything in their way; and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court can inquire. . . . I am determined to sacrifice estate, ease, health, applause, and even life, to the sacred calls of my country, in opposition to a kind of power, the exercise of which cost one king his head and another his throne.”

These bitter words showed well the distrust of the King’s officers and the beginning of the American revolt against all British authority. England endured special writs (though not general warrants) until 1819. **James Otis** became the popular leader, but on September 9, 1769, was struck on the head by a cane in the hands of an aggrieved customs officer. Though he lived until 1783, like Charles Sumner, the victim of a similar injury, he never fully recovered. But for this foul blow, the man who had been advocate-general for the Crown, and who stirred men’s hearts as did no other colonial orator save Patrick Henry only, might have occupied a great place in the history of the Revolution. “What is this writ,” cried he in the Supreme Court, “but to have the curse of Canaan with a witness on us; to be the servant of servants, the most despicable of God’s creation?”

"Then," declared John Adams long years afterwards, recalling the scene of which he had been a spectator, and using the language of hyperbole, not common upon his lips or to his pen, "the independence of the colonies was proclaimed."

Not less stirring or less important was the popular agitation in Virginia regarding the proper relations between the clergy and the people. In 1755 and again in 1758, laws had been passed authorizing the payment of debts, though contracted in terms of tobacco, in the recently issued but already depreciated paper currency of the colony. This legal tender law affected all of the sixty-five Episcopal clergymen of the Established Church in Virginia. They sent an agent to England who secured an Order in Council declaring the law void and then entered suits against the vestrymen of their various parishes to recover the sums due. Their legal salary was sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco annually, payable six months after the close of the year of service rendered. The new law had commuted this to the rate of two pence per pound, a third of the real value of the tobacco, and scarcely twenty pounds in English specie. In one county, the defendant vestrymen employed the services of young Patrick Henry, expecting not to win the suit, but to keep the damages down to a reasonable amount. But Henry upon that occasion developed a genius for popular appeal altogether unsuspected at that time, and in that county court, presided over by his own father as judge and before a jury without a single "gentleman" upon it, forced a verdict of one

**The Parsons'
Cause**

penny damages. What the verdict showed was that the people were tired of a State-supported clergy, resented the interference of the British government in their domestic affairs, sympathized with the debtor class, and delighted in the exhibition of great eloquence. Had Henry been employed by the parsons, the verdict would have been in their favor, for the real defendants were the rich planters who then monopolized both land and government in Virginia. Against them on behalf of the poor clergy, how eloquent would have been the address to the jury! How different would have been the argument, for Henry frankly admitted that he spoke as he did to earn his fee and to make a reputation.

Of this great burst of eloquence, the only contemporary report is that of the defeated plaintiff, from whose record we may quote briefly:

"The Act of 1758 . . . [said Henry] had every characteristic of a good law; that it was a law of general utility, and could not, consistently with what he called the original compact between the king and people . . . be annulled . . . a king, by disallowing acts of this salutary nature, from being the father of his people, degenerated into a tyrant, and forfeits all right to his subjects' obedience . . . the only use of an established church and clergy in society is to enforce obedience to civil sanctions, and the observance of those [duties] which are called duties of imperfect obligation; that when a clergy ceases to answer these ends, the community have no further need of their ministry, and may justly strip them of their appointments; that the clergy of Virginia, in this particular instance of their refusing to acquiesce in the law in question, had been so far from answering, that they had notoriously counteracted, those great ends of their institution; that, therefore, instead of useful members of the

state, they ought to be considered as enemies of the community; and that, in the case now before them, Mr. Maury, instead of countenance, and protection, and damages, very justly deserved to be punished with signal severity. . . . excepting they [the jury] were disposed to rivet the chains of bondage on their own necks, he hoped they would not let slip the opportunity [to warn the clergy not] to dispute the validity of such laws, authenticated by the only authority which . . . could give force to laws for . . . this colony, the authority of a legal representative . . . council and of a kind and benevolent and patriot governor."

Upon this foundation Patrick Henry built that popularity which for a time at least surpassed the popularity of any other colonial patriot.

To what further heights of audacity and of eloquence, he was led by the Stamp Act we shall see later in the course of this chapter. The fire in his soul, growing steadily hotter, kindled a fire in many another American heart.

But the course of colonial history was not destined to be influenced only by actions originating in America or by measures taken by England upon good advice and with sound judgment and proper motives. An Amer-

**The English
Ministry**

ican patriot may not be able to defend the act of Virginia in repudiating the virtual salary-contract with the clergy and may see in writs of assistance and in the veto of such an act both law and equity. Yet even the most impartial observer is compelled to recognize that in certain respects the course of England toward America was arbitrary, unsympathetic, unwise, and at least subversive of precedent, if not actually dangerous to liberty. In the American sense, we cannot speak of any

British act as unconstitutional; but we may adopt the idea of the eighteenth-century Englishman, alike in England and in the colonies, and talk of "the spirit of the constitution," meaning by that phrase the policy, the traditions, the tendencies of the government and people as seen in the laws, judicial decisions, and executive actions from generation to generation.

When George III. came to the throne, a young man of twenty-three years, he found the control of government in the hands of the Cabinet, whose chief architect had been the great Walpole. The elder Pitt, then at the height of his splendid and noble career, was forced out of office. Newcastle, on whom some comment was made earlier in this volume, failed to serve the purposes of the young monarch and was pushed aside. His successor, the Scotch Earl of Bute, who had been the preceptor of the King, was made prime minister, but could not secure the support of a majority of Parliament, and retired in 1763. George Grenville followed him, signalizing his ministry by the famous Stamp Act. He was succeeded for a brief time by Rockingham, and the latter by the elder Pitt, who because of ill health soon retired to become a member of the House of Lords, with the title of Earl of Chatham. Grafton followed, and in 1770, Frederic North, Earl of Guilford, commonly known in history as Lord North. For fifteen years thereafter, he was the chief instrument to do the King's will in England. A man of the finest social tact, an incomparable wit and humorist, Lord North never irritated the King nor roused the jealousy of that hater of men of the highest talents. Through all the changes in the

ministry from 1760 to 1770, King George was steadily breaking down the great Whig families that had for so long ruled England. In the process, he was breaking down the power of the House of Commons and building up once more the power of the sovereign. By the royal prerogative, he controlled admission into and promotion within the civil service, the army, and the church. By it, he created new peers and new boroughs. By it, he built up a "King's party," and through the "King's party" of pensioners, courtiers, Parliament members, judges, army officers, church-members, government employees, all more or less dependent upon his favor for the luxuries and sometimes even the necessities of life and for their place and power, he proposed to "be king." Throughout all the period from 1760 till the outbreak of the American war, the power of this narrow-minded, strong-willed, patiently persistent sovereign was increasing. During this time, the power of English democracy in Parliament was steadily decreasing, and had not George Guelph met more than his match in George Washington, the end might have been a tyranny in England instead of a constitutional monarchy.

One of the measures of the British Crown that were most relied upon to produce results was the establishment of courts to try the cases of smuggling. This measure did produce results, but not those desired. After seventy years of endurance, the American colonials found their hatred of them well expressed by Samuel Adams, who said:

Vice-
Admiralty
Courts

"the most grievous innovation of all [is] the extension of the power of courts of admiralty, in which one judge presided

alone, and, without juries, decided with the law and the fact; holding his office during the pleasure of the king, and establishing that most mischievous of all customs, the taking of commissions on all condemnations."

England was deriving from the colonies an annual revenue of less than two thousand pounds at a cost of seven thousand pounds for collection. No American jury would convict in a smuggling case. Granting the premiss that the English nation had the right to rule the American colonies as government is ordinarily administered, no one can fairly censure the vigorous course that was attempted by the vice-admiralty courts; but Adams did not grant that premiss. Said he, "The laws of God and nature were not made for politicians to alter." Time and the sea and the alien elements in the population had already separated England from America more widely, more positively than King or Parliament or the people at home or abroad then knew; later measures not only widened the breach but brought England and America into violent opposition.

CHAPTER XIII

COLONIAL UNION

1765-1774

OF all the more immediate causes of the American War of Independence, that which is best known was the Stamp Act. This vitally affected the public press, merchants trading on sea and land, office-holders, heirs and legatees, and all creditors and debtors. The journalists of the American colonies made a tremendous outcry; and the money-lenders and borrowers echoed it. These were dangerous classes for the British ministry to rouse to angry activity. It would have been well for England if Grenville had remembered that common maxim of Walpole, "Let sleeping dogs lie."

**The Stamp
Act**

In certain aspects, the Stamp Act was not a very serious matter. England already had such a tax: this was simply extended to the colonies. When, in 1732, the extension was first proposed, Walpole said, "I will leave the taxation of America to some of my successors who have more courage than I." In 1757, Pitt declared, "I will never burn my fingers with an American stamp tax." Grenville, the brother-in-law of Pitt, had the courage that

Walpole and Pitt lacked. The Act of 1764 required all newspapers, court pleadings, deeds, notes, documents, even marriage certificates, to bear stamps in order to be legal. The preamble frankly announced the purpose of the law as "the raising of a revenue for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing his Majesty's dominions in America." Then arose that old Dutch cry, "Taxation without representation is tyranny." Stimulated by the eloquence of James Otis, the Massachusetts Assembly resolved that this tax or any tax "imposed by the Parliament of Great Britain upon a people, not represented in the House of Commons, is absolutely irreconcilable with their rights." Already, unknown to Otis, in the Virginia House of Burgesses that wonderful orator, Patrick Henry, the first great Virginian, who was more beloved in that colony than even George Washington, had made one of the most effective speeches in all our history. Supporting certain resolutions that he had drafted, he declared (as every one knows, for the saying has gone through the world), "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third . . . may profit by their example." Under the spell of his eloquence, the Burgesses passed the resolutions, whereupon the delighted and excited young lawyer rushed away and gave them to the world. Later, the Burgesses reconsidered their vote and passed milder resolutions; but the vigorous words of Henry, scribbled upon the back of an old letter, were spread broadcast, inflaming the popular mind. Circulated at a time of confusion, when people did not yet know whether to yield or to

resist, the Virginia Resolves brought matters to a crisis, and incidentally made Patrick Henry famous in all the colonies as the Parsons' Cause had made him famous in Virginia. The manuscript draft by Henry read as follows :

"Whereas, The Honourable House of Commons, in England, have of late drawn into question how far the General Assembly of this colony hath power to enact laws for laying of taxes and imposing duties payable by the people of this his Majesty's most ancient colony; for settling and ascertaining the same to all future times, the House of Burgesses of this present General Assembly have come to the following resolves:

"Resolved, That the first adventurers, settlers of this his Majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them and transmitted to their posterity and all other his Majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this his Majesty's colony, all the privileges and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, That by two royal charters granted by King James the First, the colonists aforesaid are declared and entitled to all privileges and immunities of natural born subjects to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

"Resolved, That his Majesty's liege people of this his ancient colony have enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own Assembly in the article of taxes and internal police, and that the same have never been forfeited or any other way yielded up, but have been constantly recognized by the King and people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, Therefore, that the General Assembly of this colony, together with his Majesty or his substitutes, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and imposts upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatever than the General Assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and has a

manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American liberty.

“Resolved, That his Majesty’s liege people, the inhabitants of this colony are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatever, designed to impose any taxation whatsoever upon them other than the laws or ordinances of the General Assembly aforesaid.

“Resolved, That any person who shall, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain that any person or persons, other than the General Assembly of this colony, have any right or power to impose or lay any taxation on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to his Majesty’s colony.”

Several things about these Resolves call for comment. We hear in them that portentous new word, “unconstitutional.” We see British liberty distinguished from American liberty; a new nation is coming into being; and Patrick Henry, the poor young lawyer from the back country of Virginia, half Scotchman, half Welshman, whose third cousin, Henry Lord Brougham, was soon to become a great Parliamentary orator and humanitarian leader in England, was the first American to give voice to its purposes, ideals, and emotions. Most dangerous of all, in the Resolves, the members of Parliament are referred to as “persons.” Verily, the Virginia “seminary of sedition” had become a university of treason.

We may not belittle the Stamp Act as a matter of a few pence. Some of the stamps were of small amounts, but many rose to five and ten shillings, and a few to four, six, and ten pounds. Heavy forfeitures, some as high as twenty, fifty, and one hundred pounds, were enacted. A pack of playing cards required a shilling stamp, every advertisement a

two-shilling stamp, every sheet of newspaper one penny. Such was the measure that passed the British House of Commons by a vote of four to one, at a time when King George was laid up with an attack of insanity. There were riots in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island when the collectors of stamp taxes attempted to perform their duties. Newspapers, with black headlines and violent editorials, gave notice of ceasing publication. It was an epoch when in England and America public opinion was beginning to express itself in the journals. Massachusetts called a congress of the colonies to demand the repeal of an act so obnoxious that it could not be enforced. This Stamp Act Congress, meeting in New York, October 7, 1765, formulated a Declaration of Rights, and sent a petition to Parliament and another to the King. Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia were not represented in the Congress; but many men, afterwards famous, then met in New York for the first time. The new Rockingham Whig ministry in England secured in 1766 the repeal of the Stamp Act, but passed a Declaration affirming the supreme power of Parliament.

A year later came the measures of Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who gave up the idea of an internal tax such as that proposed by the Stamp Act, and resorted to an external tax. The Townshend Acts provided for a board of commissions in charge of American customs, for duties upon glass, red and white lead, painters' colors, tea, and paper,

**Townshend
Acts**

for trial of all revenue cases in the admiralty courts, and for the payment of all salaries of royal officers out of the proceeds of the new duties. At the same time, the functions of the New York Assembly were suspended. Several years before, it had sent a petition to the King containing these ominous propositions:

“For besides that involuntary taxes and impositions are absolutely and necessarily excluded from a state of liberty; that it would be the basest vassalage to be taxed at the pleasure of a fellow-subject; that all real property is lost whensoever it becomes subordinate to laws in the making of which the proprietor does not participate, and that thus to treat us would be to sink us into a subjugation infinitely below the ignominious rank of the most tributary states. . . .

“Though we could, with the most becoming alacrity, submit our lives and property, and that we hold dearer than both, that inestimable liberty with which our ancestors have set us free, to your Majesty’s royal clemency and princely direction, yet the unavoidable delegations of that royal authority which necessarily expose us to the rapacious designs of wicked men, leave us neither rest nor security, while a customs house officer may wantonly seize what a judge of your Majesty’s court of vice-admiralty may condemn in his discretion [and] we tender our humble petition to the throne that this great, this growing, this mighty evil may be removed from among us.”

Petitions of like import were sent by New York to both Houses of Parliament, but so daring were they that no member would present them. An eloquent passage read as follows:

**The New
York
Petition**

“[We] cannot avoid deprecating the loss of such rights as they [the New York colonists] have hitherto enjoyed, rights

established in the first dawn of our constitution, founded upon the most substantial reasons, confirmed by invariable usage, conducive to the best ends; never abused to bad purposes; and with the loss of which liberty, property, and all the benefits of life tumble into insecurity and ruin: rights the deprivation of which will dispirit the people, abate their industry, discourage trade, introduce discord, poverty and slavery: or by depopulating the colonies, turn a vast, fertile, prosperous region into a dreary wilderness, impoverish Great Britain, and shake the power and independency of the most opulent and flourishing empire in the world."

These petitions, the leadership taken by the New York committee of correspondence in the Stamp Act Congress, and, finally, the refusal of the Assembly to make provision for quartering troops caused Parliament to forbid the Assembly to pass any act until it had made the provision required. This suspended all legislation for several years.

Of all the causes that made for arousing the spirit of liberty and independence in the colonies, by no means the least were the presence of British regulars and the efforts made to quarter the troops upon the inhabitants.

The Soldiery

Englishmen never took kindly to the idea of soldiers living in their homes. As early as 1766, a few regulars had been sent to Boston to assist the new board of revenue commissioners. In 1770, two regiments were there. The colonials looked upon them as foreign troops, and their swaggering and otherwise generally offensive manners did not conduce to quieting the prejudice against them. Boys and men called the red-coated soldiers as they went through the streets "lobsters for sale" and "bloody backs." March 2, 1770, serious trouble

began. A redcoat asking for employment at Gray's rope-walk was refused with an insult. He challenged a workman there to box with him and was beaten. Later, he returned with companions, and a fight ensued with swords and clubs. This street-rowdyism continued for three days until a mob, armed with clubs, and snowballs with stones inside of them, attacked eight soldiers, who killed three civilians and wounded eight others. Such was the *Boston Massacre*. Next day a town-meeting was called, which urged Governor Hutchinson to remove all the soldiers to the castle in the harbor. This he did promptly. Upon regular trial, with John Adams and Josiah Quincy as counsel for the defendants, two soldiers were found guilty of manslaughter, and a nominal sentence was imposed. The other six were acquitted. For the next three years, comparative quiet reigned in Boston.

In the meantime, the organization in New York known as the Sons of Liberty had been formed and was carrying on an energetic agitation. They derived their name from the phrase of Isaac Barré, friend and army comrade of the brilliant General Wolfe. He said in Parliament, arguing against the passage of the proposed Stamp Act:

"They [the American colonies] planted by your care! No: your oppressions planted them in America. . . . They nourished by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were perhaps the deputies of deputies to some members of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them;

men whose behavior on many occasions has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them. . . . They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence; have exerted a valor, amid their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument."

This speech was immediately reported to America by Ingersoll, of Connecticut, agent in London for that colony, and soon the phrase *Sons of Liberty* was familiar in thousands of colonial homes. Disaffected merchants, rough workmen and boys, enthusiastic patriots, discontented failures in life, rowdies, one and all joined together in secret bonds to work for liberty and against taxation or any other kind of government from across the sea. They were leaders in the movement for non-importation that followed the Townshend Acts. In New York, they fought the famous battle of Golden Hill with the redcoats.

This battle, like the Boston Massacre, was the outcome of street broils. After the repeal of the Stamp Act, the people had erected a liberty pole in honor of King George and of William Pitt, the foremost champion in England of American liberty. January 13, 1770, the British soldiers, quartered in New York at the expense of the colony, sawed the pole and tried to blow it up with gunpowder. This effort ended in a street-fight, in which considerable damage was done to property. After three days' effort, the soldiers finally succeeded in getting the pole down, and sawed it into billets. January 19, after having already

Street Riots

wounded half a dozen persons, the soldiers killed a sailor, but were defeated in the street riot that followed. Two months later, the soldiers charged upon a new pole, bound with iron, but were driven back. It was not cut down until 1776, when the British army entered the city.

By far the most serious struggle between the royal authorities and the colonials that occurred before the War was the battle at Alamance upon the Haw river in North Carolina, near the headwaters of Cape Fear river. In the middle counties of that colony, there had been formed bands of so-called Regulators, who refused to pay taxes, to obey courts, or to tolerate the presence of judges and sheriffs. In May, 1771, Governor William Tryon, a tyrant because literally and efficiently obedient to the orders of the Crown, led a body of fifteen hundred volunteer soldiers against the Regulators and routed them in a bloody battle. This governor and this battle had much to do with the movement out of the colony across the Appalachians which, as recounted elsewhere in this narrative, began under the leadership of Boone and Sevier. Tryon was an adventurer who, at the instigation of his beautiful wife, a kinswoman of several great English families, had built a palace costing twenty-five thousand dollars and who meant to have the colonials pay for it. This battle of Alamance, which resulted from his extortions, reflected rather the temper than the intelligent purpose of the colonials; as such an indication of the popular spirit, it was significant of the struggle to come.

The purpose of the Townshend Acts, which were passed at a time when William Pitt was dying of nervous prostration (and but a few months before that event; Townshend himself died of a disease of long standing)

**Independent
Governors**

was to secure a regular revenue not, as in the case of the Stamp Act, for transmission to England, but to support the administration of justice and the execution of all laws. To be specific, King George desired the royal governors to have regular salaries independent of the popular caprice. But the colonials were accustomed, as we have seen, to buy the approval of legislation by the bribe of a liberal grant, or to extort it by the threat of salary withheld. In the case of the stamp duties, they could decline to buy the stamps, as indeed they did; but the customs were payable at the port of entry upon penalty of the withholding of the goods; and the royal officers could reimburse themselves by the sale of the property. The only remedy of the colonials against such external taxes (which now seemed to them as odious as the internal taxes had formerly seemed) was to cease importing the goods upon which the levies were made. This they proceeded to do. The tax was expected to yield forty thousand pounds annually; it actually yielded but a few hundred. After the repeal of the taxes upon paper, glass, and paint, the people continued to abstain from the use of tea, which during the past fifty years had become very popular. To join in the non-importation agreement became a test of loyal Americanism; and such agreements were potent in bringing the people together in a

common sympathy and union. Indeed, the first Continental Congress formally made the joining of the association of non-importers such a test.

Still more influential than non-importation societies and sons of liberty were the committees of correspondence, which were destined in the period of the War of Independence to become the real government. Who first suggested these committees, and where they first appeared, are questions not to be answered with absolute assurance of accuracy. No doubt the New York Assembly was the first colonial assembly formally to present the plan. But from the first suggestions nothing of permanent interest came. The true origin of the permanent committees was in Boston, when in 1772 Samuel Adams succeeded in persuading the town-meeting to appoint a committee of correspondence. It is here that the significance of the colonial opposition to regular salaries from customs duties payable to governor and judges, appears definitely. Samuel Adams, "the man of the town-meeting," the first great American politician, and the greatest of all American agitators, had long been seeking to arouse Boston and all Massachusetts in defence of their liberties. Just before the resolution for the establishment of the first permanent committee of correspondence passed in town-meeting, Adams had declared in the *Boston Gazette*:

"Is it not enough to have a Governor an avowed advocate for ministerial measures, and a most assiduous instrument for carrying them on, model'd, shaped, controul'd, and directed, totally independent of the people over whom he is

commissioned to govern, and yet absolutely dependent upon the Crown, pension'd by those on whom his existence depends, and paid out of a revenue establish'd by those who have no authority to establish it, and extorted from the people in a Manner most odious, insulting, and oppressive? Is not this indignity enough to be felt by those who have any feeling? Are we still threatened with more? Is Life, Property, and everything dear and sacred to be now submitted to the Decisions of PENSIONED judges, holding their places during the pleasure of *such* a Governor, and a Council *perhaps* overawed? To what a state of Infamy, Wretchedness, and Misery shall we be reduced, if our Judges shall be prevail'd upon to be thus degraded to HIRELINGS; and the BODY of the people shall suffer their free Constitution to be overturned and ruin'd. *Merciful God! inspire thy people with wisdom and fortitude, and direct them to gracious ends. In this extreme distress, when the plan of slavery seems nearly compleated, O save our country from impending ruin. Let not the iron hand of tyranny ravish our laws and seize the badge of freedom, nor avow'd Corruption and the murderous Rage of lawless Power be ever seen on the sacred Seat of Justice.*

"Let us converse together upon this most interesting Subject, and open our minds freely to each other. Let it be the topic of conversation in every social club. Let every Town assemble. Let Associations and Combinations be everywhere set up to consult and recover our just Rights.

'The country claims our active aid.
That let us roam; & where we find a spark
Of public Virtue, blow it into flame.'"

Samuel Adams, of Boston, then a town of some twenty thousand inhabitants, was the foremost leader in that revolutionary movement in the minds of men by which colonial resistance to British interference in domestic affairs was transformed into American patriotism with its passion for independence. The son of

Samuel
Adams

a man of wealth and distinction, whose property late in his life grew small, Adams was a graduate and post-graduate of Harvard. He had no interest whatever in money affairs: the revolution for which and in which he worked was concerned with taxes solely because taxes imposed from without meant slavery and oppression. He was no youth when he wrote those burning words quoted above, for he was well past forty. He was not a man afloat in the world, looking to the betterment of his personal fortunes, for he lived in his own house, upon the pitifully small salary of the clerk of the Massachusetts Assembly, and gave all his time to public business. The salary was so small that his friends must supply the family with some of the bare necessities of life. Yet the father and the mother brought up their children well and creditably. Adams was a clear- and cool-headed patriot, such as Plutarch would have loved to delineate. This was the man who, by his committees of correspondence, set all the continent in conflagration, and who drew upon the devoted town of Boston the particular wrath of King George.

One other great American of this period, whose work took even wider range than that of Samuel Adams, was that other Boston-born and Boston-bred patriot, Benjamin Franklin, of Philadelphia, who had acquired a fortune before making a literary and scientific reputation. At this time, Franklin was in London, serving as colonial agent for Pennsylvania, and getting acquainted with Edmund Burke, the great Parliamentary orator and leader, who was then the

**Benjamin
Franklin**

colonial agent for New York. The adventures of Franklin before Privy Council and Parliament serve to throw no little light upon the real differences between England and her colonies. In 1774, Franklin was summoned before the lords of the committee for plantations to discuss the petition of Massachusetts for the removal from office of Governor Thomas Hutchinson and Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, because of letters which they had sent to William Whately, private secretary to George Grenville, then in the English Cabinet, and which (upon securing possession of them in a proper manner) Franklin had sent to America for perusal by the patriot leaders.

At this time, Franklin was already sixty-eight years of age. Grossly insulted at this hearing, he vowed never again to wear the suit that he then had on until his country was free. He signed the treaty of 1783, wearing again for the first time in nine years that "full dress suit of spotted Manchester velvet," and he wore it though the French court was then in mourning. In 1774, he was also dismissed from his position as deputy postmaster-general of the colonies. In an interview with Lord Chatham (the elder Pitt), he declared that Parliament could not be *omnipotent* because it was not *omniscient*, and that the colonists would not oppose commercial regulations provided they "were *bona fide* for the benefit of the *whole empire*, not to the small advantage of one part to the great injury of another." But even the gallant courtesy of Chatham, defending Franklin in the House of Lords, could not save the philosopher for the service of conciliation in England, and early in the war period he withdrew to France.

In 1766, appearing before Parliament in the matter of the stamp taxes, Franklin had, as the record shows, presented the case of the colonials fairly and adequately:

“Do you think it right, that America should be protected by this country, and pay no part of the expence?—That is not the case. The colonies raised, clothed and paid, during the last war, nearly 25,000 men, and spent many millions.

“Were you not reimbursed by parliament?—We were only reimbursed what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our proportion, or beyond what might be reasonably expected from us; and it was a very small part of what we spent. Pennsylvania, in particular, disbursed about 500,000 l., and the reimbursements in the whole did not exceed 60,000 l.

“What was the temper of America towards Great Britain before the year 1763?—The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown, and paid, in all their courts, obedience to acts of parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several old provinces, they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons or armies, to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expence only of a little pen, ink, and paper. They were led by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain, for its laws, customs, and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard; to be an Old England man was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us.

“Do you think the assemblies have a right to levy money on the subject there, to grant to the crown?—I certainly think so; they have always done it.

“Are they acquainted with the Declaration of Rights; and do they know that by that statute, money is not to be raised

on the subject but by consent of parliament?—They are very well acquainted with it.

“How then can they think they have a right to levy money for the crown, or for any other than local purposes?—They understand that clause to relate to subjects only within the realm; that no money can be levied on them for the crown, but by consent of parliament. The colonies are not supposed to be within the realm; they have assemblies of their own, which are their parliaments. . . .”

It was such information as this that led Edmund Burke, in 1775, to make his famous speech upon *Conciliation* and Samuel Johnson to issue his pamphlet entitled *Taxation no Tyranny*. But, by 1775, England had retreated from the purpose to tax the colonies in order to repay the costs of the great wars and to force them to bear part of the expenses of empire. By that time, her sole purpose was to get from the colonies money enough to assure her royal officers there an independent support while transacting their affairs in the general interest of England. This purpose is seen abundantly in the five Acts secured by the ministry of Lord North.

The Acts were in part the direct outcome of the burning of the *Gaspée*, near Providence, in 1772 and of the Boston Tea Party, in 1773.

The *Gaspée* was a revenue vessel that

**The Five
Acts**

had been assigned to the task of stopping smuggling. She ran aground in Narragansett bay and was burned by some sixty-six men whose names could not be discovered by the British authorities. The Boston Tea Party was an exploit [likewise by persons whose names were never discovered] that is so familiar to all as scarcely to call for recital. It is sufficient to record that on December

16, 1773, the tea of the English East India Company was thrown overboard in Boston harbor by a party of fifty men dressed as Indians; that their adventure was the outcome of a town-meeting attended by seven thousand citizens; and that despite the three pence per pound tax, the tea was cheaper in America than in England because, for the benefit of the East India Company, and to carry out its claim of right to tax the colonies, Parliament had removed the English duty upon consignments from India to America. Charleston allowed the tea to be landed only to spoil in storage; Philadelphia refused to permit the tea ships to land; the New York ship was driven by storm to Antigua in the West Indies and did not return till a year later, when its master prudently displayed no effort to land his cargo, but made off for London. The financial loss to the East India Company, already suffering from foreign competition, was very great, and the anger of the directors and stockholders was correspondingly bitter. Their influence had not a little to do with the subsequent legislation.

In 1774, the Boston Port Bill was launched. This closed the harbor against all commerce until Boston should pay for the tea and promise thereafter to obey the laws and officers of Parliament and of the Crown. A second measure was designed to abrogate the charter of Massachusetts. It provided that the Council should be appointed by the Crown and not elected by the General Court, in joint session of Assembly and Council. Their new name was to be mandamus councilors. Moreover, town-meetings were to be held only by permission of the governor

and for the sole purpose of electing officers. Sheriffs were to be appointed by the governor as in other royal colonies. Finally, under this Act, Gage was made governor of Massachusetts, with four regiments under his command. A third Act provided that all magistrates, revenue officers, and other Crown servants, upon indictment, must be tried in Nova Scotia or Great Britain rather than in Massachusetts or the other colonies. A fourth Act provided for the billeting of troops upon the inhabitants. A fifth Act ordered the extension of the boundaries of Canada to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. This Quebec Act thus increased the region that was without the benefit of the *habeas corpus*, that was controlled by the Roman Catholic Church, and that was ruled by the French law rather than the English common law.

These five Acts together alarmed and angered all the American colonies. Of the series the most important in its immediate effects was the Port Bill. Marblehead offered its wharves to Boston merchants, Salem passed sympathetic resolutions, Connecticut colony took an inventory of her common and military stores and then ordered a season of public prayer. Virginia passed a resolution, whereupon her Assembly was dissolved. Contributions for Boston, which was almost entirely dependent for livelihood upon her sea-trade, poured in. Committees of correspondence were multiplied. June 17, 1774, the Massachusetts Assembly passed a resolution calling for a Continental Congress. A great meeting was held at Fanueil Hall, Boston, over which John Adams

**The Colonial
Awakening**

presided. Governor Hutchinson, a descendant of Anne Hutchinson, of religious fame, withdrew to England, never to return. His first conversation with the King must have been painful in the extreme, with its allusions to patriot threats of tar and feathers, its discussion of the time when his house was sacked, and its close review of all colonial matters, of which the King knew enough to ask searching questions. In America, South Carolina summed up the colonial situation: "The whole country must be animated with one great soul, and all Americans must stand by one another, even unto death." }

In such a frame of mind, came to the first Continental Congress the fifty-five delegates from twelve colonies, which met in September, at Philadelphia, in Carpenters' Hall. Georgia sent no delegates, but promised to concur with her "sister colonies" in whatever action they should adopt. Among the delegates were John Adams, Roger Sherman, Philip Livingston, John Jay, John Dickinson, Joseph Galloway, the Rutledges, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and George Washington. All were men of the highest standing. Peyton Randolph was made president; and Charles Thomson, secretary. A new Parliament over the sea was constituted, and a greater England was about to come into being.

This new Congress instituted vigorous measures, advising non-importation, petitioning the King to recede from his attack upon Massachusetts and from all other offensive measures, requesting General Gage to cease the erection of forts, preparing a

memorial to the British people, urging the committees of correspondence to active resistance to the use of British goods, and sending an address to the people of Canada. The substance of all these measures was the institution of a practical embargo, the establishment of a commercial system of non-importation, non-exportation, and non-consumption in respect to merchandise to or from England. England's answer was to be an interdict upon all trade and fishing by Americans. It was decidedly a peace congress. Few understood the import of this first association of the colonies against the mother-country. Among these few were John and Samuel Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Patrick Henry; but George Washington, slower of mind and cooler of heart, wished and prayed, and, indeed, expected that Parliament and the King would remedy all the evils of which they complained rather than draw the sword for the shedding of blood.

Led by John Adams, the first Continental Congress passed the following resolution:

"That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council; and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances cannot be represented in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures where their rights of representation can alone be preserved in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed. But from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of

such acts of the British Parliament as are bona fide restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country; and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent."

Jefferson in his *Summary View* had gone much further, declaring that Parliament could not regulate even the external trade. Here was indeed material for war. The General Court of Massachusetts now proceeded to establish itself as a Provincial Congress and as far as possible to conduct government as though there were in Boston neither captain-general nor governor. Thus the patriot leaders in Massachusetts and the other colonies were proceeding to complete the severance of the colonial relation, while the thousands of the indifferent or loyal colonists looked on, wondering what the future had in store.

CHAPTER XIV

OUR LAST YEARS AS COLONISTS

1761-1774

IN the first chapter of this division of the narrative, there was presented an account of the growth of population in the colonies from 1697 to 1760. It remains to set forth briefly the **Population** growth in the years from 1761 to 1774, the period in which rebellion was brewing. As the record of population unmistakably shows, these were prosperous times. Our discussion may properly be accompanied by a short account of certain features of political affairs, not presented in earlier chapters,—the passing of the governors in the various colonies and the attitude of the people toward England.

No reports of our American population before 1790 can be more than estimates and opinions. In 1774, the populations of the several colonies were about as follows, namely:

New Hampshire.....	90,000
Massachusetts (with Maine).....	375,000
Rhode Island.....	90,000
Connecticut.....	225,000
New York (including "Hampshire Grants").....	240,000
New Jersey.....	150,000
Pennsylvania and Delaware.....	390,000

Maryland	275,000
Virginia	475,000
North Carolina.....	150,000
South Carolina	200,000
Georgia	75,000
Total	2,735,000

The rate of increase for this brief period of but fifteen years was 180 per cent., while that for the sixty three years from 1697 to 1760—a period four times as long—was 500 per cent. Of the grand total of over two million seven hundred thousand people, the blacks contributed over five hundred thousand, that is, twenty per cent. They had gained slightly in proportion to the gain of the whites since 1760, but were not destined to maintain that gain during the next half century.

The decade from 1765 to 1774, which marked flood tide in the growth of colonial agriculture and manufacture, marked also the greatest increase in the importation of Negroes from the West Indies and Africa. This importation of slaves continued to be due to the greed of the traders of New England and of New York, and to the combined greed and need of the planters of the South. Already the employment of the blacks as slaves in the North was notably upon the decline. The actual number of blacks above the latitude of Long Island did not actually decline, but manumission became more common and purchases and births of slaves were fewer than the sales and deaths. The birth-rate among the free Negroes was low, and their numbers were kept at a standstill. The recruits required to maintain their numbers were secured from runaways from the slave markets and

plantations. The Negro was already becoming unpopular and even feared in the North, where the white people had but little use for his services, and where, being unable to treat him as an equal, they did not know how to treat him at all. The free white laborers combined against him, and by violence and threats of violence made his employment dangerous to the social peace.

In 1760, the governor of Massachusetts was that contentious miser, Francis Bernard, described by some as a thief. Bernard was succeeded by Thomas Hutchinson, who had already begun the publication of his great history of the colony, and last came General Gage. The story of Massachusetts for this eventful period is the story of the attempt by Great Britain to ruin the rapidly increasing prosperity of the colony, whose sole source of supply was the sea-trade, and to reduce her to the condition of a subject province, to break down her leadership in America, and to make her an object-lesson to emphasize the importance of humble submission to the will of Crown and Parliament,—a story whose chief interest lies in the stiff-necked resistance of her citizens to these measures. Of local events, few that do not have bearing upon the supreme struggle are now remembered. Apparently, nearly everything else was subordinated either to the great matters at issue or thrust entirely aside. And yet, Massachusetts thrived despite (or was it because of?) her political excitement and agitation. In truth, it was in part by reason of her splendid prosperity that she had the heart to oppose the quartering of troops in the homes of her

Massachusetts

people, government by "mandamus councillors," and the presence of a dozen war-ships in her greatest harbor. Governor Hutchinson did not utter a falsehood when in 1771 he mentioned among the causes of gratitude for Thanksgiving day an "enlarged trade" and the continuance of "civil and religious liberties." Undoubtedly, there was far more real liberty in Boston in 1771 than there had been in 1671. To know liberty is to desire yet more liberty. The presence of one redcoat soldier for every two colonial men was irritating to these self-reliant Americans.

In New Hampshire, the governors throughout this period were Benning and John Wentworth, uncle and nephew. By the latter, a road was built through the White Mountains, and the establishment of Dartmouth college at Hanover in 1770 was encouraged. The people made ready for the struggle to come more effectively than in any other colony, for they supplied two thirds of the soldiers at Bunker Hill in 1775. The wildest colony of the North, New Hampshire was the most eager for the conflict. Not all the aggressive spirit was in British bosoms. The French wars had prepared the people of New Hampshire for the evil days of rancor and bloodshed.

Governor Hopkins of Rhode Island resented the interference alike of Massachusetts and of Great Britain. Said he, "Parliament had no more right to make laws for them than for the Mohawks." This Hopkins was the only colonial governor who refused to take the oath to support the Stamp Act. Like New Hampshire, in 1774, Rhode Island stripped a royal fort to

supply the militia with cannon, muskets, and powder. The Navigation Acts had struck hard at Rhode Island, but not hard enough to prevent her population from doubling their numbers in fifteen years, and from rising against the Boston Port Bill and the Quebec Act with a unanimity and an enthusiasm almost equal to that of New Hampshire. The anticipation, on the part of the Newport sailors, of rich prizes in the war to come was doubtless a potent influence in furthering revolutionary ardor.

The governors of Connecticut, in this period of a decade and a half, were, successively, Thomas Fitch, William Pitkin, and that Jonathan Trumbull whose helpfulness in the period of **Connecticut** the War of Independence gave him the name of "Brother Jonathan," once as familiar to Americans as "Uncle Sam" is now. The colony was furiously opposed to the Stamp Act and to the measures that followed it. As might have been anticipated, the towns like "little commonwealths" (as Alexander Johnston, the historian of Connecticut, so clearly points out) "voted solemn condemnation of the British ministry, appointed committees of safety, and appropriated money to buy arms and powder. Every town sent in its contribution to the poor of Boston, and every committee . . . a long letter of condolence." After these subordinate democracies had spoken, the colonial assembly took action.

The colony that most heartily carried out the non-importation agreements was New York. Her governors in this period of general anxiety were General Robert Monckton, for **New York** whom Cadwallader Colden acted, Sir Henry Moore,

Lord John Murray, the Earl of Dunmore, and finally William Tryon, who had been transferred from North Carolina. In the time of Colden, Wentworth's "Hampshire grants" were declared by the lords of trade and plantations to be part of New York; by sending over a horde of greedy surveyors and inspectors, the lords caused the "Green Mountain boys" to band together, from which action the State of Vermont later came into being, and was the first to enter the new Union. Very early in the struggle against Parliament, New York became divided into several classes,—the aristocracy of landlords, capitalists, and office-holders that had been fostered by the law of primogeniture; the stout champions of liberty, who included many lawyers, younger sons of the rich families, journalists, scholars, small merchants; and the moderates, consisting mostly of the poorer people, who hoped for peace and did not know which side to take in the controversy.

In all this struggle, the course pursued by the assembly was so consistently and vigorously against Parliament that the lords of trade denounced that body as guilty "of the most indecent disrespect to the legislature of Great Britain." In New York originated the Sons of Liberty. There the stamps were burned. There the assembly and the citizens opposed with clubs, stones, and muskets the presence of the soldiers of King George. This was the colony that made Edmund Burke its agent in England,—Burke, whose services to America began earlier than those of the brilliant Charles Fox and were quite as great as those of William Pitt. Burke was then editing the *Annual Register* that did so much to

educate English public opinion. All the colonies had long found it necessary to maintain regular colonial agents, and often sent out special agents to represent their interests against those of the governors. The New York assembly appointed a standing committee of correspondence, which soon became known as the "Vigilance Committee" and did a mighty work for the freedom of self-government in America. It was a New Yorker, John Jay, who prepared the address of the Continental Congress to the people of Great Britain. There was, indeed, less unanimity for resistance in New York than in the New England colonies, but the Patriots were perhaps the more intense in their Americanism because of the very opposition that they met. They soon created a reign of terror that destroyed nearly the whole trade with England, both export and import.

Thomas Boone and Josiah Hardy were governors of New Jersey for but brief terms before William Franklin secured the office, to hold it for thirteen years. He was the only living **New Jersey** son of the great Benjamin Franklin, and had been born out of wedlock about the time of his father's marriage. But he had been carefully reared in the home of that man of genius until he was old enough to go to England for his higher education. Of his mother, there is neither fact nor tradition to give the least trace. Inheriting unusual gifts and admirably educated, for he was the pride of his father's heart, William made an excellent governor,—so excellent, indeed, that a larger proportion of the people of New Jersey regarded his Majesty's government as all that

could be desired than were to be found in any other colony save, perhaps, Georgia. Probably, a clear majority of them were Loyalists, as, much to his father's distress, was the governor himself. Yet the colonial assembly sent delegates to the Stamp Act Congress, and the Patriots organized non-importation societies, and in 1774 sent aid to suffering Boston. Elizabeth-Town became the Patriot headquarters, and Perth Amboy the Loyalist. Party lines were severely drawn, and party feeling ran high. So well managed were all the colonial government affairs that the people prospered greatly, increasing rapidly in numbers and in wealth.

The last governor of Pennsylvania was John Penn, grandson of William Penn, the founder, who succeeded Denny, the "devil," and ruled twelve years. The good Quakers resisted the Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts very quietly but very firmly, and were generally faithful to the non-importation policy. They were thrifty and multiplied, while their proprietor-governor drew the great rents for his family and tried to keep the land taxes down, in the face of Franklin's effort at home and abroad to raise them to a measure of equality with the taxes of other and smaller landowners.

In Delaware, under the leadership of Cæsar Rodney, there was, during this period, a serious movement to emancipate all slaves. The movement bore fruit soon after the "territories" were freed from the control of the Penns as political rulers as well as proprietors. Delaware was surprisingly eager for the struggle with the mother-country, displaying an activity in marked contrast

to the inertia of her northern neighbors, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

The sixth and last Baron Baltimore, the fifth and last proprietary governor, was Frederick, a man of the basest and grossest character. He **Maryland** enjoyed a splendid income from Maryland, though not nearly as great as that of the Penns from Pennsylvania. His powers were very great: he controlled the courts absolutely, the parishes, and all the county offices. He owned all the land not granted to others. (This was exactly the opposite of the right of the Penns, who held only the lands specifically granted to themselves.) He maintained a feudal system, taking escheats, wardships, and fines of alienation and upon devises. He collected port duty upon all tonnage and fees for licenses. Such were his private sources of income. The salary of his deputy-governor was paid out of an export tax of a shilling on every hogshead of tobacco. Even his rectors of parishes received, in many instances, a thousand pounds sterling annually. Such was the system of draining the wealth of a province for the benefit of a privileged and unworthy few, for most of Baltimore's appointees secured their places by privilege only, being conspicuously unfit for their official duties.

The last two deputy-governors were, however, good men, Horatio Sharpe and Sir Robert Eden. The former carried the province through the French and Indian wars and through Pontiac's War, and treated kindly the Acadian "papists," of whom five shiploads arrived in 1755, and who met elsewhere with but little friendliness. The proprietor and

eleven twelfths of the colony were now Protestants and singularly bitter in their religious partisanship. In 1763, a new boundary line, famous thereafter as *Mason and Dixon's line*, settled the disputes with the Penns. The colony had no love for proprietor or king, and resisted, with a vigor unexcelled elsewhere, the Stamp Act with its taxes on all forms of wealth and enterprise. Even the governor joined in the call for a congress. In 1774, so violently had the people been agitated by the various measures that the amiable Eden thought it wise to go home to England, though he was himself popular with the people. He had no acknowledged proprietary to support him; for in 1771 Lord Frederick had died, and the question as to whether he could legally bequeath his province to his natural son, Henry Harford, was on trial in the English Court of Chancery. In October, 1774, the irate colonists required the owner of the *Peggy Stewart* to beach and burn her because he had paid the tea tax so as to land the rest of his cargo. Maryland was rich, indeed, but very radical. No other colony had greater cause to desire the severance of the ties to the mother-country.

Of colonial Virginia as of colonial Maryland, in the days that immediately preceded the War of Independence, the novelists and romancers
Virginia have drawn many a delightful picture. Those were, indeed, happy and prosperous days for the great planters and manorial land- and slave-lords. Nor were the slaves themselves greatly oppressed or seriously discontented; indeed, in or near the valley of the Potomac, they never were made unhappy by bad treatment. Almost half of all the

Negroes in the thirteen colonies were in Maryland and Virginia. Only the small and, in numbers, almost stationary middle class, the landless free whites, were discontented. Yet the movement for larger liberty did not come from them. It came rather from those whose liberty meant the right of lordship over the slave and the opportunity to patronize the poor, and who could brook no limitations of their power in Church and State. The movement to resist King and Parliament was mainly aristocratic in Virginia, though democratic in Massachusetts. Charles II. had said, in 1676, of Virginia, under the privy seal: "Taxes ought not to be laid on the inhabitants and proprietors of the colony but by the common consent of the General Assembly." In short, the Stuart king had disclaimed what the Hanoverian was asserting.

Such were the moods of people and king when Patrick Henry arose, tall, stooping, grim, with small twinkling blue eyes, attired usually in a brown but not powdered wig, "peach blossom coat," leather knee breeches, and yarn stockings, scarcely an aristocrat, but certainly not a democrat. What he did to stir Virginia for a decade and more has been recorded earlier in this narrative. His was agitation that educated. From Virginia came Peyton Randolph, president of the first Continental Congress; Edmund Pendleton, head of the great committee of safety; George Washington; and many another later leader; of nearly all of whom, in historic truth, it must be said that at first they opposed the greatest popular orator of the eighteenth century in his work of organizing public sentiment. Henry knew what

that phrase in the Declaratory Act, accompanying the repeal of the Stamp Act, meant when Parliament asserted its right "to bind the colonies and people of America in all cases whatsoever." A great movement was begun against the Established Church and the union of Church and State. This split Virginia into two parties, one consisting of the Episcopalians and the Methodists (that society still considering itself within the Church), and the other consisting of Baptists, Quakers, and Presbyterians. The religious turmoil was part and parcel of the political revolution that was going onward so violently.

The governors of Virginia in the last colonial days were successively John Blair, Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt, an elegant gentleman who could not avoid the quarrel with the colonials, William Nelson, afterwards governor of the State of Virginia, and John Murray, Lord Dunmore, each of whom served but a brief period. In 1769, Parliament had enacted that all persons accused of treason must be transported to England for trial. This the Burgesses denounced as tyranny, whereupon the House was dissolved. At once, it was reconvened at the famous Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg and voted to import no merchandise—not even slaves—until the wrongs done to America were righted. The Patriot leaders heard, with the solid anger of those who meant to resist, that remark of Lord North regarding the tea tax,—"a total repeal cannot be thought of till America is prostrate at our feet." They had no thought of prostrating themselves at the feet of the witty minister who was so cleverly and perfectly carrying out the will of the king. Parliament met at night then as now,

and Lord North had the trick of catching "forty winks of sleep" during a long debate. Once, when his eyes were closed, an opponent cried out, "Even now, in the midst of these perils, the noble lord is asleep," to which North replied, "I wish to God I were." It might have been better for England, had North slept all the time.

The last of the royal governors was Lord Dunmore, an arbitrary, self-willed tyrant, who meant to rule like a viceroy. In 1773, his spirit had so mightily stirred that of the Virginians that the House of Burgesses established a committee of correspondence to arouse all the other colonies, an enterprise even broader than that of Massachusetts. Thus was a tremendous machine set in motion; thus was struck a panic in the minds of the English ministers. In 1774, that brilliant young man, Thomas Jefferson, aristocrat by class, democrat by conviction, in his *Summary View of the Rights of British America*, notified George III. that "Kings are the servants, not the proprietors, of the people, and that the whole art of government consists in the art of being honest." If his Majesty ever read that sentence, he must have been no less amused at the second part of it than angered at the first; but our last king was not very quick of wit, though very shrewd in public corruption. It was Virginia that illegally and in the revolutionary spirit, before she had heard from Massachusetts and but a few days after the action of that wounded colony, likewise called for a general congress, and Virginia that set aside a day of fasting and prayer which her people observed by going to church in mourning. In August, at the

"convention" (not the regularly called session) of the House of Burgesses, a Virginian, the cool-headed Washington, declared himself ready to raise and equip a thousand men at his own expense, to march to the relief of Boston. In September, at Philadelphia, a Virginian, Patrick Henry, declared: "British oppression has effaced the boundaries of the several colonies. The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." In the weaving of all this cloth of rebellion, there ran a scarlet thread of suspicion, fear, and hate. Had not Governor Dunmore himself tried to betray the colonials to the Indians in that terrible day's fight at Point Pleasant? In truth, Virginia was quite as ready to draw the sword of resistance as was Massachusetts. If, like Boston, she had possessed a great seaport, upon her quite as probably as upon Massachusetts would have fallen first the besom of the wrath of King George.

The last governors of North Carolina were Arthur Dobbs, William Tryon, and Josiah Martin. Of the first two, enough has been said already.

North Carolina Governor Martin saw that the "Regulators" had genuine grievances, and that they meant to maintain social order as well as to resist British tyranny. Though the colony sent delegates to the Continental Congress and loyally supported the new importation agreements, yet it contained many Loyalists and Quaker non-combatants. Even the governor must describe the Scotch Highlanders as "very ignorant" as well as "very loyal." North Carolina had many foreigners, especially

Germans. These inhabitants had not yet learned the English language, and therefore did not know what their neighbors were talking about.

Save for brief intervals, from 1760 to 1776, Dr. William Bull (second) was lieutenant-governor of South Carolina. He was a graduate in medicine of Leyden, the first native-born American known to have taken a university degree in Europe. Thomas Boone, formerly governor of New Jersey, ruled for two years at the close of the Seven Years' War. The colony was much disturbed over the excessive number of adult colored people in comparison with the number of adult whites, bitterly resented the action of the lords of trade in negating their vote to restrict the importation of slaves, and offered bounties to free white laborers. They called their colonial assembly "parliament," and upon the repeal of the Stamp Act voted a statue to Pitt, as did several other colonies. They looked upon themselves as Englishmen overseas. Unfortunately, they voted "perpetual grants" to their officers, but soon saw their filial trust in the honor of the Englishmen at home betrayed by the appointment to all offices of strangers entirely unfit for the duties. This was a potent cause of general discontent. In a brief interval, when Lord Charles Grenville Montague was governor, there was a fierce dispute as to whether the scoundrels who had come into the colony to get the bounty and who had remained to steal horses should or should not have trial by jury when caught by the Regulators. The result was that the upholders of jury trial became Loyalists or Tories, while the Regulators formed the

nucleus of the Whigs or Patriots. In 1774, South Carolina sent delegates to Congress, but was not enthusiastic in supporting the non-importation agreements.

The last governor in Georgia was James Wright, who in that heterogeneous colony was able generally to effect his will and the will of the king. **Georgia** British troops were quartered as requested lest they be withdrawn, to the peril of Indian attack. The Patriot party was small, though strong enough to arouse opposition to the Stamp Act and to secure the promise of the Assembly to endorse the conclusions of the Continental Congress.

It has been frequently said that the governors and other Crown officers "wrote" his Majesty, George III., "out of America." It would be **The English Office-holders** interesting, indeed, to follow the correspondence from year to year of certain of these persons with the authorities at home. Most of them came to America to get a living as easily as possible, and some of them to acquire a competence so as to return and to live at home in comfort. In many instances, what with grants and fees, they secured considerable sums. A thousand pounds sterling a year was not unusual. But even the occasional five thousand pounds of income was a small sum compared with the rich prizes of English office-thieves at home. These governors, judges, customs officers, surveyors, came as strangers and sojourners to a land of exile. Few of them ever learned to love America. They had usually known "better times" in England than they ever saw here. The governors liked to magnify

their office by exaggerating its difficulties and (still worse) by "drawing the long bow" as to the possibilities of this country, which they often represented as soon to become a dangerous competitor of England in manufacture, agriculture, trade, and population. They described, with no little violence of language, the manners, ambitions, methods of the people as wild and rough. The first resistance of the colonials, whose sole purpose was to secure redress of grievances, they represented as anarchistic and sanguinary in spirit. Living in an age when to send a communication to London and to get a reply within four or five months was to be exceptionally fortunate, and having the ear of the king's ministers, they practically controlled the opinion of the English oligarchy then in power. Moreover, like the occasional travelers in the colonies, they looked upon the comparatively democratic ways and the strange and unfamiliar honesty, sincerity, and candor of the typical American as a reproach to the society of the mother-country. Finally, they were in the "business" of office-holding; and being often transferred from colony to colony, they came to be regarded by the inhabitants as aliens and as satraps, come to spy upon and to plunder them. The truth of this becomes apparent at once when we consider that if every colony had been incorporated upon principles of democracy, as were Connecticut and Rhode Island, there never could have been a Francis Bernard, a William Tryon, a Lord Dunmore to precipitate a war to the death. It was the governor of the royal province (rather than even of the proprietary) who became a wedge to split America and Great Britain apart.

At this very crisis, the government of England, perhaps never more corrupt at home and seldom with less able men in the highest offices, **The English Government** had in America, no doubt largely in consequence of these two conditions, governors conspicuously without the ability and the tact to give good advice to the authorities in England, and to quiet the agitation of thousands and thousands of aggrieved and angered Americans. For the welfare of the British empire that William Pitt had so skilfully built up, there was required in this emergency a skill even greater than that of the master-builder. Such skill no man had; and if some man had possessed it, England would have rejected him as she rejected the honest Rockingham. For England had now entered upon her fatal course, with the eyes of her king as wide open as he knew how to open them. There was no possible turning-back even in the days of 1774 after the First Congress, when George Washington still said that the colonies did not wish "separately or collectively to set up for independency." On the contrary, such a crew of official pirates, gentlemanly no doubt, but incredibly selfish, had seized and were sailing the ship of state as England had seen but once before in her history; and George III. was a worse captain than even Charles II. had been.

If on Christmas, 1774, a vote of all the colonists could have been taken, it would have gone five to one against any attempt by force of arms to establish a new and independent nation. **American Loyalty** The heart of the people was still loyal, and the hope of renewing the ancient ties was strong.

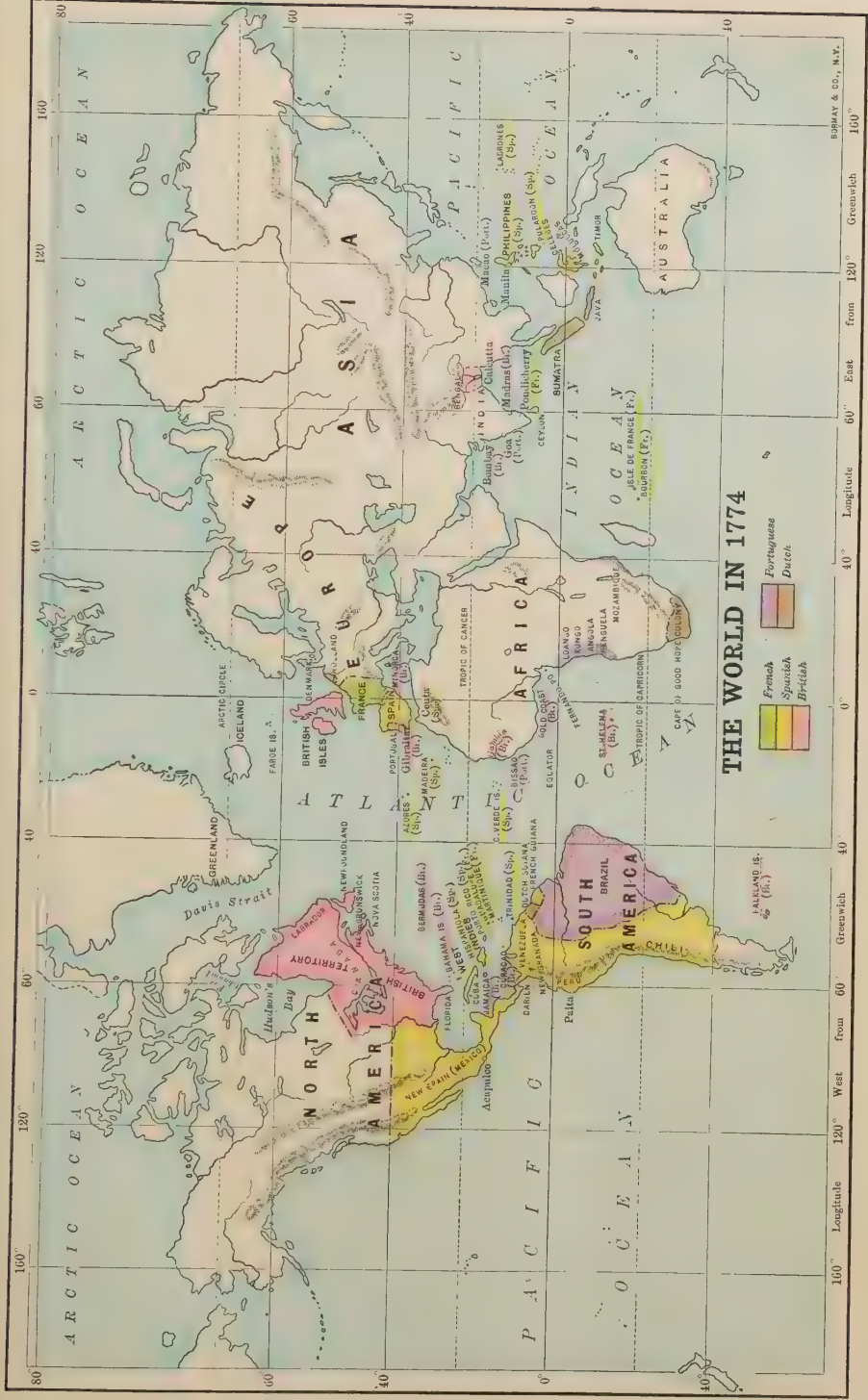
Only a few Americans, only such men as Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, understood the nature and clearly foresaw the outcome of the impending conflict. Love of liberty had given them insight, understanding, and the prophetic vision. In these last years of our colonial life, most of the people saw the leaders far off and were preparing to follow them only if they must. Industrious, righteous, sober-minded, they loved peace.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—POPULATION AND POLITICS,

1760-1774

- 1760, Eng.—Franklin denies that the colonists desire independence.
- 1761, Mass.—Adams says 1761 is the beginning of American Revolution. James Otis proves the unconstitutionality of the Acts of Trade.—Eng.—Writs of Assistance given to English colonial officers.
- 1762, La.—France cedes Louisiana to Spain.—Conn.—Area fully allotted in townships.
- 1763 Pa.—English Gov't instructs Conn. to cease colonizing the Wyoming Valley.—Treaty of Paris terminates French authority in the New World.—N. Y.—The governor claims Vermont.—Va.—Collision between the king and the colonial legislature.
- 1763-67, Pa.—Mason and Dixon's line surveyed.
- 1764, Eng.—Proposal to pass a colonial "Stamp Act." The "Sugar Act" passed.—Mass.—Colonists resolve to not use English goods. Boston acts against English taxation.—N. H.—Governor claims Vermont in opposition to N. Y.—S. C.—Large land offers bring many settlers from Europe.—Mo.—St. Louis founded.
- 1765, Eng.—The Stamp Act passed.—Va.—Patrick Henry (age 29) denies the right of England to tax the colonies. The Assembly so resolves. (Mass. and N. Y. follow.)—Mass.—A call issued for a congress of colonies.—N. Y.—Anti-Stamp-Act congress meets, memorializes Parliament, and adopts a *Declaration of Rights*. "Sons of Liberty" organized.—Pa.—Pittsburg laid out and settled.—R. I.—Governor Ward, of all colonial governors, refuses to swear to sustain the Stamp Act.
- 1766, Eng.—The Stamp Act repealed (Bonfires, flags, and illumination in London and in the colonies).—N. Y.—English soldiers twice cut down a citizen's flag-staff.
- 1767, Eng.—Parliament lays colonial taxes of all glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea imported, and blocks the N. Y. assembly until it votes supplies for the English soldiers in N. Y.—Non-importation associations again organized in the colonies, and the import of the taxed articles nearly ceases.
- 1768, Mass.—Circular letter to secure united action by the colonies. English ministry orders the letter to be rescinded.—Boston.—Hancock's sloop *Liberty* seized by Eng. customs officers. Citizens rescue the sloop. English troops arrive to enforce customs collections. Selectmen refuse to quarter the troops.—N. Y.—Stanwix Treaty.—Eng.—Sympathizers with American colonists adopt the name "American Whigs."

- 1769, Mass.—The governor prorogues the General Court.—Va.—Non-importation agreement entered upon, and the governor dissolves the Assembly for passing resolutions “as bad as those of Massachusetts.”—N. C.—Daniel Boone leads a party of settlers into Kentucky.—Cal.—The San Diego mission begun.
- 1770, N. Y.—British soldiers cut down the “Liberty Pole.” Statue of Geo. III., erected in Bowling Green.—Mass.—“Boston Massacre.” British soldiers cut down a “liberty pole” in Boston park. Convention of 96 towns at Faneuil Hall to protest against a standing army.—Eng.—Taxes on colonial imports repealed, except on tea.
- 1771, N. C.—Bloody encounter with “Regulators.” Robertson convoys 16 families of settlers across the Smoky Ridge into Tennessee.
- 1772, R. I.—British revenue schooner *Gaspée* burned.—Mass.—Committees of Correspondence appointed by “Sons of Liberty.” Assembly voids the Parliamentary Act for paying English colonial salaries from the colonial treasury.—N. C.—Settlement of the South Carolina boundary.
- 1773, Mass.—The “Tea Party.”—N. Y.—Tea ship sent back to England; 18 chests emptied into Hudson river.—S. C.—Tea cargo stored in a damp cellar, to spoil.—Pa.—Philadelphians denounce as an enemy to his country any one dealing in tea.—S. C.—Some 300 German families migrate from Maine. English-French Treaty.
- 1774, Eng.—Boston Port Bill passed. Massachusetts charter subverted. Franklin dismissed as colonial postmaster-general, because of his colonial patriotism. Colonists are divided into Whigs (patriots) and Tories (royalists). Newspapers are divided for and against the government. Conventions are held in all colonies to agitate for liberty. Legislatures provide for military stores and arms.—Phila.—The first Continental Congress makes a Declaration of Rights, and adopts non-consumption and non-intercourse agreements.—Mass.—Great commotion against the governor and lieutenant-governor. Boston receives relief from near and far. Assembly dissolved, but meets at Salem and organizes the militia as “minute-men.”—R. I.—The patriots seize military stores at Newport.—N. H.—Patriots seize military stores at Portsmouth.—Va.—The militia resolve to support their country rather than the king.—Ky.—Harrodsburg is settled. Boone leads surveyors to the site of Louisville.



160° Longitude 120° West from 60° Greenwich 40° 0° 40° Longitude 60° East from 120° Greenwich 160°

BRADY & CO., N.Y.

from the
Falls of Montmorenci to Sillery;
with the Operations of the
SIEGE OF QUEBEC

from the
Falls of Montmorenci to Sillery;
with the Operations of the
SIEGE OF QUEBEC

*A PLAN OF THE
ACTION caused by the ENGLISH
near QUEBEC, Sept. 1759.*

British Army.	French Army.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834.	

References

1. Small Vessels with Artillery Boats.
2. Sea Horse.
3. Boat.
4. Squared.
5. Troops ready for Landing after the First Battalion had gained the Heights.
6. Boats that deceived the Enemy, and to which the Boats moved that protected the Fleet from the Raids of Fire.



Part Two

War

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE — 1698-1774

GREATER WARS

MINOR CONFLICTS

17 00

1702

Queen Anne's War

17 10

1713

1715-16, S.C.—Indian War

17 20

1722-25.—Indian War in Northern New England

1729, Miss.—Indian massacre

17 30

1730, La.—Revenge for 1729

1735

1735-40—Chickasaw War

1739-42—English and Spanish War

17 40

1742

1744

King George's War

1748

1749

17 50

1749-57—Struggle for the Ohio Valley

1754-63—French and Indian War

17 60

1763

1763-67.—Conspiracy of Pontiac

17 70

1770, Mass.—"Boston Massacre"

CHAPTER I

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR

1702-1713

DURING half the time from the year 1689 to the year 1783, a period of ninety-four years, there was nominally a state of war upon the American Continent. In a superficial sense, the eighteenth century was one of warfare.

A Century of Warfare

Yet, fundamentally and essentially, it was a century of great industrial development. These two views may easily be reconciled. At no time, not even during the War of Independence, was all the Continent red with fire and blood. King William's War affected the frontier upon the north, but did not at any one time strike all along even that line. It reached Canada, but was not widespread there. Queen Anne's War, which began in 1702, was still more local in its nature. The Spanish-English War affected only the short southern border. King George's War, which began in 1744, was chiefly concerned with a single military and naval expedition sent northward. The French and Indian War, which began in 1754, was a much greater affair than any that preceded, and yet this was a matter chiefly of the western and northern frontiers. The

operations of the Revolutionary War passed from one scene to another, and were never at any one time general through all parts of the country. Consequently, the people had common and abundant opportunity for the ordinary and necessary work of life, as is thoroughly demonstrated by the growth of population from two hundred and sixty thousand in 1689 to over three millions in 1783.

This view, however, needs partial correction. The wars did interfere with the growth of population, with the extension of the settled regions, and with the increase of the general wealth. The frontiers were never entirely safe from 1607 till the time when the Indians had all been placed upon government reservations, a matter of the last decades of the nineteenth century. From 1689 to 1763, the period of the five intercolonial wars, many a pioneer family was wiped out of existence by the midnight attacks of the red men. And several times as many more families as did venture upon the frontiers would have done so, had they dared. Thus, the frontier warfare cost many lives (probably not less than ten white persons for every Indian slain) and restrained the spread of the population into new territory. Again, these wars cost money, consumed wealth, and diverted the efforts of the people from economic industry to wasteful conflict. How much they cost directly and indirectly it is, of course, impossible to compute; but that they seriously retarded colonial progress and, in certain spots, destroyed the constructive work of years was so obvious to all Americans, who realized that their chief inciting causes were European, as to constitute a large factor in arousing the desire for

independence. It was their experience with the evils of war that taught Washington his fear of foreign entanglements and caused Franklin to say, "There never was a just war nor an unjust peace."

Queen Anne's War was known in Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession. With its cause and character in Europe, we shall deal in the concluding chapter of this division of the narrative. War was formally declared

Queen
Anne's War

May 4, 1702. A year later, Governor Dudley of Massachusetts, being much concerned for the welfare of the Maine settlements, which had suffered terribly in King William's War (as already recounted), visited Casco and there made a treaty with the Indians, who assured him that they were "firm as mountains" for peace and would remain so "as long as the sun and moon endured." But the French, both military and clerical, were for war; and the wild men of the woods welcomed the call to arms that followed before the Treaty of Casco was six weeks old. Every unprotected farmhouse in Maine was soon burned to the ground by the Indians. Shortly afterwards, Wells was

raided, and but for the appearance of an armed vessel of Massachusetts, the *Province Galley*, would have been destroyed. This attack fell upon New England rather than upon New York, because the French feared to arouse the Dutch and English lest they in turn should incite against Canada the terrible Five Nations. Moreover, at this time, France was interested in pushing her claim to the Kennebec



river as the true southern limit of Acadia, which had been surrendered to her by the Treaty of Ryswick. And back of all the fighting were the three great forces of traditional hatred between France and England, of the enthusiasm of the Catholic priests for their own faith against Protestantism, and of the rancor of the exponents of the French political and economic system against the English comparatively free-and-easy, careless, natural individualism. In this age, we are not likely to exaggerate the differences between New France and English America or between France and England at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Such was the French bureaucratic organization that doubtless the king on his throne could trace, had he so desired, the successive steps of the authority by which Beaubassin, leader of the raid upon Wells, represented France upon that occasion, and from official records could learn the names of all the leading Frenchmen and Indians engaged in that bloody work. As for England and Queen Anne, they would scarcely know that fighting had begun.

For ten years this horrible border struggle went on, a "lugubrious decade," *decennium luctuosum*, to use the phrase of Cotton Mather. Yet

The Border Warfare marrying and giving in marriage, birth and death, building of new homes, clearing of new fields, reoccupying of old homesteads (in some of which every one of the former settlers had been slain by the Indians and the French), setting up of new hamlets, lumbering, fishing, fur-trading, adventuring as far as the White Mountains,—all went on, with many a man, woman, and child, many a family, many a village, lost without record or sign

to tell the tale. Pierced by arrows from ambush, tomahawked or burned in a night-surprise, captured and taken prisoner to Canada: such was the fate of hundreds. As has already been pointed out, the Indians were always in need of more women, whom the men outnumbered two to one, a potent cause of war; and many a pioneer wife and maiden was seized not for slaughter, but for marriage and drudgery. And strange as it may seem, such was the fascination of the wild life, and such is ever the devotion of the wife and mother to husband and children, that, in most instances, these captured women would not avail themselves of their opportunities to return to English civilization. Indeed, for women, pioneering and even village life in New England were not much easier than was existence in the tents of the red men. Death, sickness unattended, and separation were common. The sailor, the fisherman, the lumberman went out from home in the morning and never returned, or returned only to find the mother, the wife, the children dead or stolen away. Sorrow was the common lot, the general experience. Small wonder that rum was popular, and that women did not care greatly whether they lived north or south of the moving line that divided the world of the red man and his French comrade from the world of the Anglo-Saxon.

We see all of these things represented in the attack upon Deerfield in the year 1704, an event whose story is almost as well known as that of the Boston Tea Party, seventy years later. The little village was then upon the extreme northwestern frontier of Massachusetts. Against it,

Deerfield

as a political measure, to stir up that colony and to connect the Abenaki Indians more closely with the



cause of France, was sent an expedition of fifty Canadians and two hundred Abenakis and Caughnawagas (Iroquois converts). The villagers, all told, men, women, and children, numbered but few more, yet these warriors of the forest and of the Grand Monarch attacked them by night. The meeting-house and some fifteen dwelling-houses were enclosed by a palisade eight feet high, and were further

protected by several outflanking blockhouses. Some of the outlying houses were also fortified. It was the last day of February, 1704, and heavy snows, recently fallen, covered all the ground to the depth of three feet. The drifts were as high as the palisades. As the night passed, even the watchers betook themselves to bed. Over the crust upon the snow, the French and the Indians slowly made their way, and no sleeper awoke to give the alarm. With fearful war-whoops, the fiends leaped down from the palisaded fence and threw themselves with axes upon the barred doors of the houses. Fifty of the people were killed, others escaped in the great cold, fleeing half dressed to Hatfield. Here and there a house was successfully defended. Some who were taken prisoners were abandoned, but over a hundred of the inhabitants were bound and carried off as captives for ransom or sale. Before the sun was up, the light of the blazing fires of the burning village had roused Hatfield, Hadley, and Northampton, and a rescue party was in pursuit. This was defeated by the

French and Indians, who then pushed northward for Canada. A heavy thaw setting in and fear lest, if pursuit were continued, the captives would be killed, put an end to any further effort on the part of the English to follow the marauders.

The story of the march to Canada is too cruel to record in detail. Day by day, one captive after another was killed,—the babe at the breast, the mother, the child, the sick, the fatigued, whoever impeded the march. Each captive was at the mercy of the captor to whom he belonged. A few of the stronger Indians carried their child-captives all the way to Canada. The women were not violated; lust was not added to hate, greed, and the pride of battle, which were the motives of this raid. Once in Canada, the chief man among the captives, Reverend John Williams, a Harvard graduate, was bought by Governor Vaudreuil, and the greatest efforts were made to convert him to Catholicism. Of the surviving prisoners, about half managed to get back to Massachusetts, some by ransom, some by exchange of prisoners through the efforts of Governor Dudley, a few young men by escape. Of the rest, most became Catholics and Canadians. Not a few of the girls and women married Indians. One of the daughters of Williams married a Caughnawaga, who promptly took her name. She became a squaw, and though she visited Deerfield several times, would not consent to return to civilized life. Of these English captives and of others taken by the French and Indians, it is significant that some became captains or chiefs, and fathers of families. New France soon had a population with many persons of the mixed

blood of two races, of three, and sometimes even of four nations, the red and the white, the latter being sometimes part French, part English, and part Dutch.

The attack on Deerfield was typical, as were also its results. The French sent out other expeditions, only a few of which were successful. In 1708, Haverhill, on the Merrimac, was attacked and many houses were ransacked. Says Parkman in his *Half Century of Conflict*:

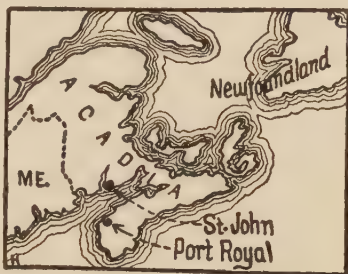


“This system of petty, secret, and transient attack put the impoverished colonies to an immense charge in maintaining a cordon of militia along their northern frontier,—a precaution often as vain as it was costly; for the wily savages, covered by the forest, found little difficulty in dodging the scouting parties, pouncing on their victims, and escaping. Rewards were offered for their scalps; but . . . all things considered, it cost Massachusetts a thousand pounds of her currency to kill an Indian.”

It was a war not only of religion and of politics, but also of trade. The northern Indians were constantly tempted to go over to the English for the sake of securing better and cheaper goods. The prices of the merchants and traders of New France were very high and their goods were poor. It was also a war of reprisal, each outrage leading to another in retaliation. Such, in its nature, was the expedition of Benjamin Church, hero of King William's War, now become a fat, old man. In 1704, he led a naval force against Port Royal, accomplishing nothing but

Motives of the War

the murder of a few French prisoners in Maine and of a few peasants in Acadia. Such also was the expedition of 1707, likewise against Port Royal. Its leader was John March, a civilian, whom Parkman describes as "a tyro set over a crowd of plough-boys, fishermen, and mechanics, officered by tradesmen, blacksmiths, village magnates, and deacons of the church.



. . . These improvised soldiers commonly did well in small numbers, and very ill in large ones." There was a good deal of skirmishing, and some men were killed on both sides; but the expedition returned home, crestfallen, having done nothing effective. In 1704, the French had destroyed several English fishing-hamlets upon the island of Newfoundland. And now, in 1708, they attacked the village of St. John and captured it. There was but one thing left for the harassed English colonists to do,—to undertake the conquest of Canada.

The scheme was less visionary than it seems to modern eyes. New Hampshire and Rhode Island combined had more people than all New France, including the mission Indians.

Port Royal

The leader in the enterprise was Samuel Vetch, who had transacted much of the business relating to the exchange of the Deerfield and other captives, had engaged extensively in the Indian trade, and had married a daughter of Robert Livingston, a leading

citizen of New York. Commissioned by Massachusetts, he visited London. He found the people



elated by the glories of the campaigns of Marlborough, and secured from the government promises of all the support that he desired. At this stage of the general enterprise, Colonel Francis Nicholson led an expedition of fifteen hundred men from Albany. They met an equal number of French and Indians near Crown Point, whereupon the French fled to Montreal and the English retreated to a camp in the

rear. There, hundreds died of camp-fever. In the meantime, the promised ships and regiments had not come from England to Boston, but had been ordered to go instead to Portugal. A year later, 1710, the expedition against Acadia sailed,—five small ships belonging to her Majesty's service, and some thirty-three ships of the colonies. In all, there were nineteen hundred soldiers, mostly provincial. After some days of bombardment, Port Royal capitulated with all the honors of war, and the name was changed to Annapolis Royal, the city of Queen Anne. Thus, defended by only two hundred and fifty soldiers, Port Royal was taken, for the fourth time, but never again to be surrendered. The French seem to have entirely misunderstood the unusual help given by England to her colonies. Said Governor Vaudreuil of Canada:

“Monsieur de Costebelle has informed me that the chief object of the armament given by the English . . . was to establish their sovereignty at Boston and New York, the

people of these provinces having always maintained a kind of republic, governed by their council and having been unwilling to receive absolute governors from the kings of England."

Said Costebelle himself, commandant in Newfoundland, in writing to the French ministry:

"I do not think that they (the 'Bastonnais') are so blind as not to see that they will insensibly be brought under the yoke of the Parliament of Old England."

Already, French writers were predicting that the outcome of all the fighting would be the union of the colonies and the erection of a democracy, independent of the monarchy of England. The French have always had a singular insight into the tendency of present forces and a singular incapacity to profit by what they see.

The friends of Marlborough, the hero of Blenheim, were now out of office, and he was out of favor. His enemies hoped for a great military success in the New World to offset the prestige of England's greatest commander. To weaken his army upon the Continent, seven English regiments were ordered to the New World. This army was further reinforced in Boston, and soon a great expedition was ready to go against Quebec,—in all, twelve thousand men. In a disastrous storm, near the mouth of the St. Lawrence, ten of the smaller ships went down, with the loss of nine hundred soldiers and sailors, whereupon the

The Quebec Fiasco



admiral, Sir Hoveden Walker, and the commander, "Jack Hill," brother of Mrs. Masham, the new favorite of Queen Anne, ordered the expedition to turn back to Boston, for want of competent pilots, so they said. Another order was sent to recall Nicholson from his attack upon Canada by way of Lake Champlain. All New France rang with shouts of joy, and the thankful prayers of the good nuns in the convents went up to heaven,—“The least devout,” said one of them, “were touched by the grandeur of the miracle wrought in our behalf,—a marvelous effect of God’s love for Canada.” With characteristic exaggeration, the French reported the losses of the English at several thousand. The admiral’s own ship was blown up in the Thames river by a powder explosion, shortly after his return to England.

The Treaty of Utrecht followed in 1713. By it, Louis XIV. recognized the Iroquois as British subjects, and surrendered Hudson bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia. But no boundary lines were determined, and the main issue in America, the supremacy of France or England, was not yet settled.

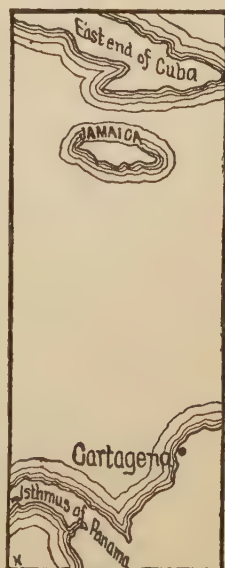
**Treaty of
Utrecht**

CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH-SPANISH WAR

1740-1743

OF the five intercolonial wars, the third was the least important and the least interesting in its military operations. It took place upon the narrow southern border between Georgia, the youngest colony, and Florida, the oldest. It was significant in that it helped to decide the question of the influence that Spain was to exert upon the development of the region that was to become the United States. In 1739, England, against the advice of Walpole and solely for mercantile reasons,—to protect her smugglers in their trade with the Spanish colonies,—declared war against Spain, which had taken every honorable means to avoid a passage at arms. After despatching several expeditions without success, the English organized in 1741 another directed against the Spanish American cities. This, though essentially



unsuccessful, was of considerable historical importance. Even Quaker Pennsylvania, which had refused to contribute in the time of Queen Anne's War, now voted money. In all, twenty-seven thousand soldiers and sailors under Wentworth and Vernon went out from Jamaica, in one hundred and ten ships, to attack Cartagena, the strongest fortified town in Spanish America. The attack was a wretched failure: nine out of ten of the colonial troops perished, most of them from tropical fevers.

In 1740, acting under orders from England, General James Oglethorpe extended the boundaries of Georgia south to the St. John's river.

**The Deliv-
erance**

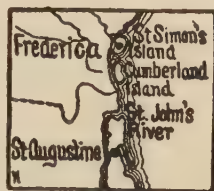
To seize this Spanish territory, he had a thousand white soldiers, including his own regiment, raised in England, and volunteers from Georgia and the Carolinas, and several hundred red men. A five weeks' attack upon St. Augustine proved vain. Two years later, a Spanish force of fifty ships and six thousand men from Cuba attacked Fort William upon Cumberland island, Georgia. At first, they were successful, but later were defeated by the militia and the Highland regiment. After three weeks of fighting, the invaders, finding it impossible to take the forts of Georgia, withdrew. It was a deliverance accomplished by the naval and military dash and skill of the brave founder of Georgia, who had so wisely based the permanence of his enterprise upon the substantial fortification of Frederica, on St. Simon's island, and upon the maintenance of armed ships and a well-drilled force of soldiers. Said the famous Whitefield regarding this affair in which the marsh and the

wood, the islands and the ocean and the climate were made, by the genius of Oglethorpe, to work together against the armada of Spain,—

“The deliverance of Georgia is such as cannot be paralleled save by some of the incidents of the Old Testament.”

Next year, General Oglethorpe led another force against St. Augustine, but was unsuccessful in his effort to take it. Thus ended in America the warfare that in Europe was to grow into the great War of the Austrian Succession.

VOL. II.—16.



CHAPTER III

KING GEORGE'S WAR

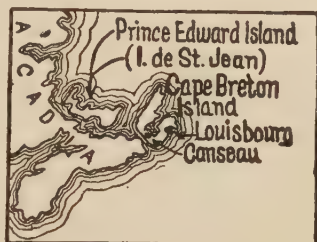
1744-1748

IN the final chapter of this division of the narrative, the dynastic causes that led to the terrible War of the Austrian Succession will be treated with sufficient fulness to explain its relations both to the struggle known in America as King George's War, and also to the development of the revolutionary idea of popular and personal liberty. In this purposeless, titanic, wholly evil struggle, England, Hanover, Austria, and Spain fought France and Prussia, the latter all the while secretly conniving with England.

After the Treaty of Utrecht, Louis XIV., in the decline both of his physical strength and of his political power, rejoicing that he had been able to save the island of Cape Breton out of the wreck, undertook the project of building there an impregnable fortress to bear his name and to protect his New World empire. His successor pushed forward the idea. By 1720, the walls of Louisbourg began to rise to guard the mouth of the St. Lawrence and to hold Canada forever for the French. The magnificent fortress was twenty

years in building, and, though not entirely completed, cost thirty million livres (francs), a sum more than equal to as many dollars in modern money.

It was one of the last stupendous enterprises of the French central monarchy, a triumph of expiring despotism. This fortress, garrisoned by two thousand men, Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts proposed to



capture with a provincial army. Shirley had been a barrister in England until 1731, when he had emigrated, hoping to better his fortunes. An audacious notoriety-seeker, he was none the less an able, shrewd, foresighted man, who had rapidly made his way into the favor of the colonials, but without losing the favor of the people at home. Louisbourg had become the "Dunquerque" of North America, a dangerous resort of French privateers, who greatly injured the colonial sea-trade. By a majority of one, after long discussion, the Massachusetts Assembly voted to undertake an expedition that to such cool-headed men as the Yankee in Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin, looked like utter madness. Said he, "Some seem to think that forts are as easy to take as snuff."

The other New England colonies decided to send aid, which they did very gingerly; furnishing in all scarcely a thousand men. William Pepperell, of Kittery, Maine, who was reputed to be the wealthiest merchant in New England, was made commander of the expedition.

**William
Pepperell**

Already colonel of all the Maine militia and president of the Massachusetts Council, he was as popular as he was able. At first, he shrank from the enterprise (rich men are ever cautious), but when even the Reverend George Whitefield, who at this very time was visiting him, decided in favor of endorsing the crusade against the French Catholics, Pepperell consented to take the command; whereupon the great revivalist gave him as the motto for the conflict, "*Nil desperandum, Christo duce.*" The naval commander was Captain Edward Tyng. In all, the land forces, sailing in ninety transports, numbered some four thousand men, while the ships numbered thirteen, carrying some two hundred guns. To assist them, Admiral Warren of the British navy came up from the West Indies with three royal ships.

The hopeful amateurs of New England arrived off the coast of Cape Breton island late in March, when the deep-set harbor of Louisbourg was still blocked by ice. They drilled at Canseau for three or four weeks, and recovered from the effects of a dreadful storm on their way northward. When the ice cleared away, they

found the noble harbor of Louisbourg admirably protected by batteries that guarded the narrow passage leading between reefs and shoals into the quiet waters.

The town with its fortress lay upon a neck of land between the harbor and the sea. Across this neck, and shutting Louisbourg off from the land, ran a great ditch, twelve hundred yards

The Fortress



long, nearly thirty yards wide, and twelve yards deep. Back of this was the rampart, twenty yards thick, faced with stone, with embrasures for one hundred and forty-eight cannon. In the batteries and upon the ramparts, there were actually about one hundred and forty cannon. To take this fortress by bombardment, the cheerful Bostonians had brought thirty-four small cannon and mortars, the largest cannon being twenty-two pounders.

On May 1 and 2, the troops were landed in the surf, several miles west of Louisbourg. By a five-mile march, upon the latter day, an advance party under the enterprising **The Siege** William Vaughn, a graduate of Harvard who had established himself as a very successful fishing master and landowner, seized and destroyed the French naval stores upon the shores of the harbor. Soon afterwards, by a clever trick, the provincials won a great advance outwork that was equipped with thirty large cannon, and secured also considerable ammunition. Thus the "luck" began. In reality, it was not luck at all; but French incompetence, disunion, cowardice, corruption, and indolence overmatched by English ingenuity, zeal, bravery, honesty, and work. The provincials endured all manner of hardships of surf, rock, marsh, fog, cold, diet, and labor. It is an almost incredible story, of heavy cannon dragged at night through several miles of swamp by barefooted, half-clothed men, until five batteries were equipped for the bombardment. On both sides, the aiming of the guns was accurate. The town of Louisbourg within the fortress was plowed and raked from end to end. Many a provincial cannon

burst from "double-shotting," for the provincials were reckless. As a relief from the terribly hard life (nearly half fell sick from digestive maladies), the New England volunteers went fishing and hunting, played quoits, shot at targets, and held revival meetings. Late in May, an early morning attack upon the great island battery in the harbor failed, at the cost of more than a hundred lives. Out at sea, the English fleet destroyed, captured, or drove away several French frigates that were proceeding to the relief of the fortress. The French sorties, never in large force, were easily defeated, and served only to weaken the defenders. The same Colonel Gridley who thirty years later planned the earthworks at Bunker Hill built a battery on the land across the harbor mouth, and proceeded to bombard the French battery with dreadful effect.

Captures and reinforcements at length had raised the English fleet to eleven vessels, and a joint attack by sea and land was proposed. To avoid the impending ruin, the French commander, Chevalier Duchambon, capitulated. The immediate losses were: English, in battle, one hundred; by disease thirty; French, about one hundred in all. The surrender was forced by lack of ammunition, and by the fears of the townspeople. Greatly to the anger of some of the provincial soldiers, it was a surrender with all the honors of war, and plundering the inhabitants was forbidden. From this followed, according to an instructive contemporary account, "A great Noys and hubbub a mongst ye Solders a bout ye Plunder; Some Cursing, som a Swarein." The navy gathered

**The Sur-
render**

a rich harvest, for the French flag was kept flying, and prizes, valued at a million sterling, were thus lured into the harbor, half their proceeds to go to the treasury of the Crown, half to the profit of the officers and men. Without the protection of the provincial army by the navy of England, Louisbourg could not have been taken, yet the real work of the attack and siege was done by the colonial fishermen, farmers, mechanics, and tradespeople.

The delight in Boston over the news of the fall of the supposedly impregnable fortress was extreme. New York and Philadelphia formally celebrated the victory. The English government at once made Pepperell a baronet and Warren an admiral. Both Pepperell and Shirley were commissioned colonels in the British army. Rous, captain of a provincial cruiser, was given a ship in the royal navy, a signal honor. The expenditures of the four colonies were reimbursed in specie—Massachusetts, £184,000; New Hampshire, £16,000; Connecticut, £29,000; Rhode Island, £6000 sterling.

**Colonial
Joy**

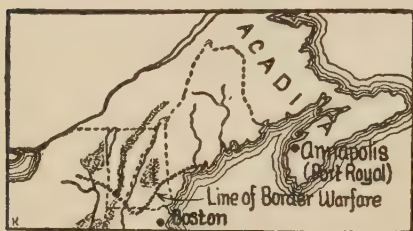
The provincial army remained in Louisbourg all winter, and its history there displayed that worst of the evils of war—pestilence. Of the four thousand men, six hundred died of fevers and distempers, and a thousand more were sick. In 1746, France sent a long-delayed expedition of sixty-seven sail to recover the fortress; but storm, pestilence, and starvation pursued the unfortunate sailors month after month. Without a battle, they came home again, in number but a small fraction of those who went out. May 14, 1747, a second French

Pestilence

expedition was defeated at open sea by Admirals Warren and Anson, and six ships of war were captured.

Of the various military measures for the defence of Annapolis, of the great alarm in New England over a mythical French Armada, whose purpose it was to take Boston, and of the ceaseless border-warfare in New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Acadia, only this mention may be made.

Treaty of
Aix-la-
Chapelle



In 1748, by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, their Majesties, George II. and Louis XV., agreed to return their conquests of the dominions of

one another; and greatly to the anger of New England, Louisbourg was exchanged for Madras. Thus ended a bitter war that was not without significance and importance in later history. It was the training school of soldiers for the French and Indian War and for the War of Independence. It gave to the provincial volunteers both skill and courage to fight regulars. It taught both France and England to regard one another as formidable adversaries in America; and it had its logical issue in the far greater operations on sea and land of the final struggle for the possession of this Continent.





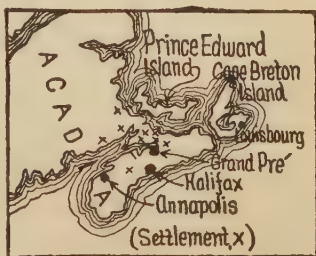
CHAPTER IV

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

1754-1763

THE Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was a truce that afforded only a breathing-space. Both France and England pushed actively forward in America the preparations for the inevitable and determinative conflict. In 1749, Halifax was founded, to hold over the Acadians the terror of the English and to protect them from being terrorized by the French. These peasants were an ignorant and simple folk; among them only one man, Le Blanc, a notary, could read and write, and he wrote very badly. Acadia was a primitive democracy, sheltered by accident in a remote province of a great absolute monarchy. Doubling in numbers every sixteen years, in 1748, the people counted twelve thousand souls. They were very superstitious and wholly under the influence of their French priests, who constantly incited them to rebellion against the English. The "neutral French"

Acadia



of Nova Scotia thus became a potent source of anxiety and trouble; at any time, they might be the comparatively innocent cause of a new world-wide war. Here was a situation that, like tinder, was ready for any spark.

Already, New France had her outposts from Montreal to New Orleans, and it was her ambition to take effective possession of all parts of the two great systems of waterways upon the North American Continent. This meant seizing and holding the Ohio valley. Similarly, England as represented by the colonies of

The Ohio Valley



Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, had looked over the crest of the Appalachians and had cast a covetous eye upon the rich lands of the western slope. Three hundred English traders crossed the Appalachians every year, going

often as far as the Mississippi. Here, also, was a situation likely at any occasion to develop a crisis.

Again, there was the Iroquois country, held by the strongest Indians of the Continent, the only tribes

comparable in any way with the great military powers, and they were comparable only because of their critical position between New France and New York. The Iroquois had always been more friendly to the English than to the French, yet they saw that while the English came to farm the land, the French came only to trade. Further, among them as among the

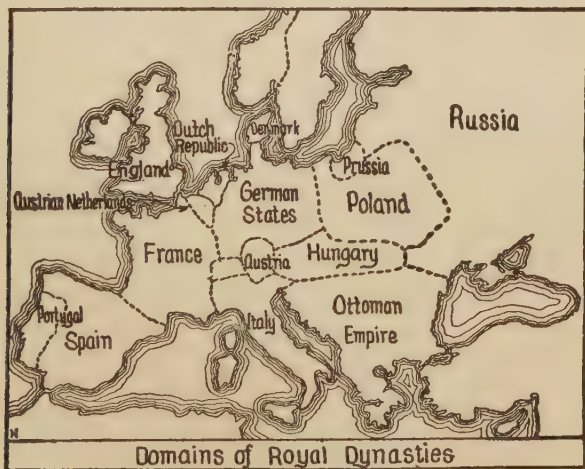
The Iroquois

Abenakis of Maine and the Micmacs of Nova Scotia, the French priests were always at work, combining religion with politics, and using the former as a cloak for the latter. There was no guaranty that these savages might not at any time go upon the war-path, for England probably, for France possibly, because they loved war.



Lastly, there were, as always, the European questions, and now there was the new Asiatic question as to who should rule in India. The peoples of Europe were quiet enough, almost too quiet. When the storm is brewing, all the world of Nature is very still. So the world of natural humanity, the world of the workers with hand and brain, was still like the stillness of

The European Tension



death. In truth, there was death everywhere, but there was life also. Old ideas were dying, and new

ones were being born with scarcely a cry as yet. But the world of artificial humanity, the world of the privileged, the world that centered about dynasties and was organized into nobilities and aristocracies, was full of noises and of glaring lights. Any king, or the mistress of any king, might begin a war that, radiating outward, would reach America.

In 1754, there were in Canada about fifty-five thousand people; in Acadia, ten thousand; and in the Mississippi valley, fifteen thousand. New France might as well have had not eighty thousand, but eight hundred thousand inhabitants; but the country was in the possession of a bigoted clergy that would not admit any of the Huguenots who were trying to escape from the dragonnades of the bigoted king of France. Once more in history appears the ever-living truth that ideas, institutions, and laws make a people great; there must be the ideas, and equally there must be the crystallization of these ideas into institutions and laws. Yet had France been willing to give to her people leave to emigrate as they would, she would have been willing to let them think and live at home as they would; and she would have had no politically or religiously discontented people anxious to emigrate, for that beautiful country, given a fair land-system and a righteous government, has never yet been over-populated. New France was caught in the "vicious circle" of superstition, tyranny, stagnation, corruption; and the fall of the dominion of France in the New World was as inevitable as was the Revolution in the Old. Character is destiny: such is the law of nations as well as of persons.

Despite the cost, the French monarchy needed New France, as a peculiar kind of investment. If England should gain the great valleys of North America, she would soon draw from them such immense revenues as to make her preponderant in Europe. By her system, as it prevailed to the time of the Stamp Act, these revenues would, indeed, have been private rather than public; but whether the income of taxes or of lands, manufacture, and trade, they would have enriched the people of England and would thereby have contributed to her national wealth. France



needed New France in order that England might not win that empire and use it to her own upbuilding, and to the injury of her rival upon the Continent of Europe. Singularly enough, England needed to allow Canada to remain in the hands of France, for (as her wisest statesmen foresaw) once freed from the terror of a warlike neighbor in the North and West, the thirteen colonies would probably have combined against the mother-country, seeking either independence or autonomy under the protection of British suzerainty.

In 1749, Céloron de Bienville buried a leaden plate at the foot of a tree upon the banks of the Alleghany river. Upon this plate was inscribed the claim of which the following is a literal translation:—

On the
Ohio

"Year 1749 in the reign of Louis XV King of France we Céloron commandant of a detachment sent by the Marquis

de Gallisonière commanding-general of New France to restore tranquillity in certain savage villages of these cantons have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and the Tchadokoin this 29th July near the river Oyo otherwise [known as] the beautiful river as a monument of the renewal of the possession that we have heretofore taken of the aforesaid River Oyo and of all the rivers that fall into it and of all the lands on both sides to the sources of the aforesaid rivers as the preceding kings of France have enjoyed or ought to have enjoyed it and which they have upheld by arms and by treaties especially by those of Ryswick of Utrecht and of Aix-la-Chapelle."

This expedition of De Bienville traversed a great region and was followed by others, which won many Indian tribes from their leanings toward
War the English. The French proposed to exclude all English traders from New France, and moved effectively to that end. The English considered their presence upon the Ohio an invasion of their own rightful territory; and in the depth of winter, 1753-4, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent out George Washington to challenge their claims and to order them to withdraw. Upon the return of this small expedition, the enterprising governor set about raising a force of men to dislodge the French. By dint of urging, begging, and promising, he succeeded in getting together, from Virginia, the Carolinas, and New York, several hundred troops. But, in the meantime, the French had come in force to the forks of the Ohio and had driven away the band of backwoodsmen who were trying to build a little fort there. Fort Duquesne, bearing the name of the governor of Canada, who was not embarrassed and delayed by republican assemblies, was speedily erected.

Such was the true beginning of the great war, though the breaking up of the sessions of the commission to adjust the boundaries between New France and the English, which occurred in Europe about the same time, and was an abandonment of the hope of peace, amounted to a virtual admission of mutual hostility. England claimed that Acadia included the peninsula and the neighboring mainland and that all the regions that had been subjugated by the Iroquois or were held by their allies belonged to herself, while France asserted that Acadia was but a small strip



in the southeast of the peninsula, and that the southern and eastern boundaries of New France were formed by the height of land parting the waters of the Continent between the valleys of the St. Lawrence and of the Mississippi and those

of the Atlantic slope. Only the arbitrament of the sword could decide claims so irreconcilable and advanced by rivals so equally matched.

May 28, 1754, in western Virginia, Washington, with a party of thirty-three men, surprised a party of the same number in a rocky glen, killing ten, including Jumonville the leader, and taking all the rest prisoners, save one. Such was

Bloodshed

the first encounter in one of the most important wars of all history. At once, the French prepared to undertake the conflict in earnest. With Coulon



de Villiers, brother of the slain Jumonville, as leader, they marched, seven hundred strong, to meet the English regulars and volunteers at the Great Meadows. There, July 3, in a heavy rainstorm, the French with an unknown number of Indians laid siege to Fort Necessity and forced Washington to surrender with the honors of war. Next morning

with three hundred men, carrying some forty wounded, the retreat was begun. It was a bitter fourth of July for the youthful leader. That surrender taught every red man in the Appalachian country to despise the English.

In the year of the Convention at Albany and of the first bloodshed in the Seven Years' War, England had two hundred ships-of-war and about eighteen thousand regular soldiers, not including the garrisons at Gibraltar and elsewhere, while France had only half as many fighting vessels but ten times as many soldiers. Early in January, Major-General Braddock was despatched to America with a thousand men in two regiments. Soon afterwards, France sent three thousand men over the sea, with Baron Dieskau, a German, as commander. The English promptly sent a fleet in pursuit, which, intercepting three French ships, captured two of them in open fight. General hostilities followed, but not

for a year did either combatant declare war. During that year, England suffered severely on the land, while taking three hundred French prizes upon the sea. Not until then did the great convulsion begin in Europe that, spreading to India, completely changed the history of several different peoples,—establishing Prussia, the nucleus of the new Germany, ruining the French empire in America and in India (thereby leading to the French Revolution), and opening the doorway for Russia to enter the councils of Europe. In Europe alone, 853,000 soldiers lost their lives, while millions of non-combatants perished from the evils attendant upon war.

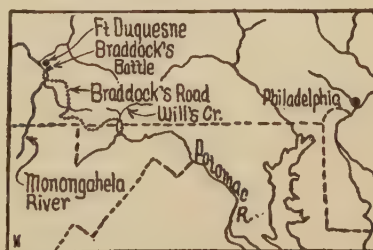
In 1755, the chief events in the American war were the campaign of Braddock to win Fort Duquesne, the deportation of the Acadians, and the campaign of Dieskau in New York. The former, though by no means

**Braddock's
Campaign**

the most important, is familiar to all readers of history. Edward Braddock was one of his Majesty's best officers, a soldier who thoroughly understood European warfare. Morally and intellectually, he

was such a man as was likely, in the age of Robert Walpole, to rise to prominence in the army,—a bachelor all his life, who loved himself too much to care to take a wife, fond of

gaming, of dress, of social functions, brutal to his inferiors, cold-hearted toward his relatives, fearless, opinionated, loyal to his country. To please



a London merchant who had a large trade in Virginia, General Braddock began his campaign with a mistake, for he wasted both time and money by marching by a long route through thinly settled Virginia rather than through populous and prosperous Pennsylvania. It was that famous citizen of Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin, who, by pledging his personal credit, secured for him in Pennsylvania the wagons for his baggage-train that Virginia could not furnish, because her people owned but few. For the campaign, Braddock had in all twenty-two hundred men. Even when he tried to conciliate some possible Indian and pioneer allies, his manner toward them was so coolly insolent as to repel them. As the English advanced, they built a good wagon-road, twelve feet wide. Flankers, to warn off ambushes, were thrown out far upon each side of the moving army. Progress was so slow that it became necessary to divide the army, but this helped only a little. July 9, at a point seven miles from Fort Duquesne and a mile beyond the ford of the Monongahela that they had just crossed, the advance guard of the English came upon the advance guard of the French and Indians. The Canadians fled upon the first fire of the English. On the third volley, the French leader, Chevalier de Beaujeu, fell. The British regulars closed in solid ranks, while the French and the Indians kept hidden behind the trees. The redcoats fired their volleys without aiming, the red men aimed to kill. The British by mistake shot not a few of their own men and of their Virginian comrades. Braddock with his sword drove into the open some of the regulars, who,

imitating the volunteers and their enemies, had hidden behind trees and logs. At last, panic set in,—they could not fight “puffs of smoke.” Grim, resolute Braddock, already badly wounded, was upon his fifth horse, when he fell with a bullet in his lungs. Washington had two horses killed under him and four bullets went through his clothes. Nine hundred French and Indians overwhelmed and drove in retreat fourteen hundred English, of whom only four hundred and fifty-nine were unharmed. Less than a hundred of the attacking party were either killed or wounded. It was an astonishing and terrible defeat and resulted in opening all the Virginia border to Indian marauders, who swept down the military road to the ruin of the exposed frontier.

With Acadia in the hands of the English, New France could not in winter communicate with Louisbourg upon Cape Breton Island. The Acadians were always ready to turn upon the English, as indeed, in the disguise of Indians, they often did. In their peril and weakness in the presence of a disaffected population, Massachusetts decided to send a considerable force to strengthen the English in Acadia. June, 1755, was passed in fighting and July in indolence, but in August the British governor determined upon the removal of all the French out of the province. Already, four or five thousand had voluntarily departed—to Cape Breton and St. John's islands, to the mainland that was in French control, and elsewhere. They hated the English because of fear of Protestant Christianity; and therefore they would not take the oath of allegiance to King George. Nominally neutral,

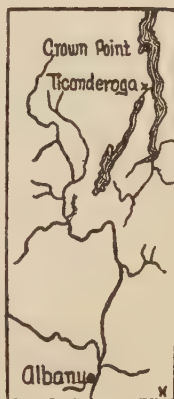
The
Acadians

they were really hostile. England never taxed them, never attempted to make them Protestant, always humored them. The real governor of each village was the curé, who acknowledged only the bishop of Quebec. Not without struggle and bloodshed was the order for removal enforced. By December, over six thousand had been deported. Their houses, barns, and churches were all burned to the ground. A few managed to escape to Canada, where they suffered worse from the wholesale corruption of the French government than did the exiles who were forced to find homes among the cold-hearted English heretics. Many of them eventually made their way to French Louisiana. Some actually returned to Acadia. Virginia sent her quota of exiles to England. A few went to France. This drastic measure was a melancholy business, but necessary,—as necessary, that is, as it was for England to possess Acadia.

To capture Crown Point from the French, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts commissioned William Johnson, the rich fur-trader of New York, as major-general, and proceeded to get troops for him. By July, Johnson had at Albany three thousand soldiers from five different colonies. It was a motley crowd, whose moralists called it “profane and wicked,” though admitting that the men did not “steal chickens.” They reached Lake George late in August. To meet them, Baron Dieskau was marching with thirty six hundred men, of whom many were volunteers and Indians. The advance guard of the French had thirteen hundred men, who were to attack the main force of Johnson, which was composed of two thousand volunteers

**Dieskau's
Campaign**

and three hundred Indians. In an ambush and a skirmish early in the morning of September 7, the French drove a small party of the English in retreat, killing Colonel Ephraim Williams, who by recent will had left his estate to found a school. (This was the beginning of Williams College.) Later in the day, the fortune of battle turned; and in the hard fighting of the afternoon the French were defeated, losing Dieskau, wounded and a prisoner. When the Mohawks tried to get him back from Johnson, and in his presence asked for him, the leader, remembering how little real help the Mohawks had given in the battle, replied to the question of Dieskau—"What do they want? . . . To burn you, by God, eat you, and smoke you in their pipes, in revenge for three or four of their chiefs that were killed. But never fear; you shall be safe with me, or else they shall kill us both." Even so, next day, an Indian, breaking through the guard, attempted to stab the baron but was prevented. Dieskau survived several years, but he never perfectly recovered from his wounds and never forgot to praise the American colonials—"in the morning they fought like good boys, about noon like men, in the afternoon like devils." In all, the loss in the battle was five hundred men, killed, wounded, and missing—a loss about equally divided between the French and the English. Being himself wounded, and suffering from inflamed eyes, Johnson was unable to push his



force forward to prevent the French from establishing themselves strongly at Ticonderoga. For the



victory, Parliament gave him five thousand pounds and made him a baronet.

Governor Shirley's own expedition to seize the French forts upon Lake Ontario ended in no result of military importance, though it brought sorrow to himself.

He had lost his oldest son in Braddock's defeat; in this Ontario campaign, a second son died of camp-fever.

Of the awful border-war that set in after the disaster to the British regulars under Braddock, it is

The Border enough to record that it was a repetition of the horrors in New England and New York during King George's War, with the added misery in Pennsylvania that both the Quakers and the opponents of the Penn proprietors seized the opportunity to make political capital out of the cry of the distressed pioneers for protection. The Quakers desired to emphasize their control of the province by enforcing their principle of non-resistance even at the cost of the ruin of the frontier. Governor Morris had accepted his commission upon the express condition that he must never sign a bill to tax the lands of the proprietors. These lands, indeed, were largely valueless because of Indian raids, and could be made valuable only by securing relief, by friendly treaty or by warlike force, from these raids. Every bill appropriating funds for the

war was fought by the Quakers on principle, and every bill was drawn to tax the proprietors as well as all others. This see-sawing between the Assembly and the Governor was a cruel and selfish political game; and it resulted in the destruction of the homes of hundreds of Scotch Presbyterians, who had gone to the border. It was, indeed, darkly intimated that the Quakers were not sorry to see the Presbyterians suffer. The middle lands of Pennsylvania were held by Germans who did not care whether they were subject to France or to England. The solution of the trouble came when the proprietors voluntarily set aside for military purposes five thousand pounds (about five per cent. of their annual land-rents), and when the raids came within sixty miles of Philadelphia, giving to the peaceful Quakers a thorough scare. Then they voted money for defence.

To succeed Dieskau in the management of the campaign of the following year, Louis XV. appointed Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm-Gozon de Saint-Verau, then forty-four years of age, one of the best and ablest men in the history of New France. He was a soldier by profession and had made an honorable record. He

was given twelve hundred soldiers and a salary of twenty-five thousand francs. Louis and Madame Pompa-

dour could not spare more men, for they had sent a hundred thousand men to help Queen Maria-Theresa. The rulers of France did not take New



France seriously. The governor of Canada was now Pierre François Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, son of Philippe de Vaudreuil, a former governor. Montcalm as military commander and Vaudreuil as civil governor were destined to clash at many points. Scarcely less powerful than either of these two men was the intendant, François Bigot, a corrupt intriguer of vigorous executive ability, to whom more than to any other Frenchman we may attribute the fall of New France. Two thirds of the money and supplies sent over from France were stolen by Bigot's horde of plunderers.

The English colonies in the North pushed vigorously the work of raising an army and offered liberal bounties in money and clothes to men who would enlist in military service. The pay was a pound and a half a month, colonial currency. In all the work of organization, Shirley, though already superseded in command, was the prime mover. The center of activity was the Lake George region where France held Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point and England Forts William Henry and Edward. By much persuasion, Sir William Johnson, now "Sole Superintendent of the Six Nations and other Northern Tribes," held the Iroquois and various other tribes to the cause of the English. In July, a considerable battle was fought near Oswego, then in the possession of the English. The victory fell to Johnson's



boatmen, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel John Bradstreet. A month later, Oswego with its

three forts was captured by the French under Montcalm, whose force outnumbered the English two to one. France now held undisputed possession of the Great Lakes, and was able to concentrate her armies for the conquest of upper New York.

Montcalm, once more at Ticonderoga, with a force of over five thousand men awaited Loudon, the new commander of the English, who had ten thousand at various places between Albany and Lake George. They sent scouting parties against one another and laid ambushes, but fought no battle. In December, the main forces on each side withdrew to winter-quarters, which were difficult enough to find in the English colonies, though freely provided in Canada by the people in their own homes. At the close of 1756, the advantage lay decidedly with the French, who were organized as a unit and were well supplied with money. They had won over most of the Indians, one of whom, addressing Montcalm, said:

**Montcalm
and the
Indians**

“We wanted to see this famous man who tramples the English under his feet. We thought we should find him so tall that his head would be lost in the clouds. But you are a little man, my father. It is when we look into your eyes that we see the greatness of the pine-tree and the fire of the eagle.”

By midsummer, 1757, there were gathered near Ticonderoga eight thousand men, including courtly and gallant French officers (familiar with the scholarship, the military science, the graces of Parisian civilization) and naked Indian cannibals from the Northwest. Said a young Ottawa to a French priest

in reply to his protest against a company that was feasting upon the flesh of an English prisoner, "You have French taste; I have Indian. This is good meat for me." Forty-one tribes were gathered in the French camp,—among them Iroquois converts, Nipissings, Hurons, Abenakis, Algonkins from northern Canada, Micmacs, Ottawas, Iowas, Objibwas, Pottawattamies, Menominees, Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes, and Miamis.

The greater part of the army was composed of French regulars, who did the really effective work in the siege of Fort William Henry early in August. Overwhelmed in numbers, for at this time Loudon was in Halifax, planning a siege of Louisbourg which was given up, the brave English defenders of the little fort surrendered. The commander, Colonel Monro, and his men marched out upon parole not to fight again for a year and a half. The fact that General Webb, but fifteen miles away, with a force twice as large as that of Montcalm, not only did not come to the rescue of Monro, but actually sent a letter to him advising him to surrender, did as much in the colonies to cast discredit upon the valor of English regulars as the defeat of Braddock had done to cast discredit upon their military skill. No sooner had the colonials marched out of the fort than the Indians swarmed in, scalping the sick and wounded, fearless of smallpox, thirsting for blood. Next day they fell upon the colonials who had surrendered, killed many of them, and took several hundred captive. The French could not control their savage allies, who next morning decamped in a body. This

**Fort Wil-
liam Henry**

massacre was begun by the Christianized Indians,—those who, hearing that the French King was the head of the Church and that the Church was the Bride of the Lamb, were accustomed to call Louis XV. “the oldest son of the wife of the Lord Jesus Christ!” Nature sent upon them the punishment due their treachery, for hundreds took the smallpox and died.

The great year of the war was 1758, which opened in Montreal with general distress for want of food. Flour was gone. Soldiers and citizens lived upon horse-flesh. Of the savages, **The Winter in Canada** Bougainville, a chief officer of Montcalm’s army, wrote, when three thousand of them clamored to be let loose upon the English:

“What a scourge! Humanity groans at being forced to use such monsters. What can be done against an invisible enemy that strikes and vanishes, swift as the lightning. It is the destroying angel.”

The winter passed with tales of the border-war in the ice and snow, of burning houses, of starving fugitives. Even gay Montreal and Quebec had some miserable compunctions. Even peace-loving, governor-opposing Philadelphia began to see that it might be necessary to shed blood that more blood might not be shed.

In Canada, public corruption was at its height. By numberless devices, the officers and agents of the king were accumulating fortunes that seem almost incredible in amount. France, herself rotten, suspected New France of being equally rotten.

In England, William Pitt had become supreme, a man who by believing in the glory of England

helped her make herself glorious. A great enthusiast, he woke in British hearts a kindred enthusiasm.

English He was now to oppose to French distrust
Sea-Power English faith, and was thereby to change the fortunes of the American war. To prevent reinforcements from reaching New France, he launched the English navy against the French. Sir Edward Hawkes intercepted and drove ashore a fleet of French transports sailing from Rochefort with troops for America, while Admiral Osborn, cruising between Spain and Africa, barred the passage of the Straits of Gibraltar, which was irresolutely attempted by ships from Toulon. Her own fleets England sent unmolested across the sea.

In 1758, Louisbourg contained four thousand inhabitants, about the same number as when it was taken by the rich merchant Pepperell.
Louisbourg The circuit of its fortifications was a mile and a half, and the French had spent many million livres in putting it in repair. It had now a garrison of over three thousand men, while in the harbor were five ships of the line and seven frigates, with a like number of men. There was on hand a year's supply of provisions. To take this fortress came Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, with twelve thousand men. The siege was skilful, the defence brave. The French commander, Chevalier de Drucour, hoping to block the harbor, sunk six ships at its mouth. Wolfe led in the attacks. The ships in the harbor were set on fire by English bombs. Day by day, the sappers drew nearer and nearer to the walls of the fortress. Successful assault by way of the crags that faced the sea was impossible. The

thatched roofs of the houses of the fishermen in Louisbourg took fire from the exploding bombs. The wretched mortar of the bastions was weakened by the concussion of the French guns, and the masonry fell in masses. At length a breach was made in the front wall by the fire of the heavy English artillery. At the end of July, Louisbourg capitulated. It was for England the first great victory in the war, another evidence of her overlordship of the ocean, a triumph of her sea power. That fiery youth, General James Wolfe, now declared to Amherst, who was about to go to New York:

“An offensive, daring kind of war will awe the Indians and ruin the French. Blockhouses and a trembling defensive encourage the meanest scoundrels to attack us. If you will attempt to cut up New France by the roots, I will come with pleasure to assist you.”

Pitt at once asked America for twenty thousand soldiers, one in seven of the white men able to bear arms. Most of the colonies responded nobly, **Lord Howe** and more than fifteen thousand men were assembled in June for the siege of Ticonderoga. The nominal leader was General James Abercrombie, the real leader Lord Augustus Howe, whom Wolfe described as “the noblest Englishman that has appeared in my time, and the best soldier in the British army.” Howe had spent a year learning the conditions of American forest-warfare and had introduced many reforms. Howe and Israel Putnam, already a famous Indian fighter, led the advance upon Ticonderoga. Suddenly, they came upon a small party of the French; and there, in a brief

skirmish, the skilful leader, the soul of the army, perished. Had not Howe fallen at Ticonderoga and Wolfe at Quebec, the American nation might never have won its right to independence. In the struggle with her own colonies, England had no generals equal to these heroes in ability, character, and power over an army.

For the defence of Ticonderoga, Montcalm had built an outwork of great tree-trunks. In front, the trees had been cut down, but not cleared away, forming a vast abattis. The outwork stood upon a plateau and was impregnable to musketry attack. The French now had about four thousand men and eight days' provisions. The conflict that followed was the most terrible that had yet taken place upon the North American continent, and was comparable on even terms with the heaviest fighting of the Wars of Independence and of 1812. The English made seven charges, in the last of which the forty-second regiment, the famous "Black Watch," of Scottish Highlanders (men of the kind who had fought so gallantly at Culloden for "Prince Charlie") lost half of its men. Of the English army, two thousand soldiers were killed and wounded; of the French, four hundred. Next morning, Abercrombie, completely disheartened, ordered a retreat. Montcalm and his officers celebrated their victory by raising a great cross and by writing religious verses in Latin and elegant verses in French.

To offset this heavy disaster, which was due to the skill and heroism of Montcalm in the face of great odds, to the unfortunate death of Howe, and to the incompetence of Abercrombie, the English under

Bradstreet took Fort Frontenac upon Lake Ontario, and dismantled it. This blow cut New France in two, and prevented supplies and reinforcements from reaching Fort Duquesne.

Forbes

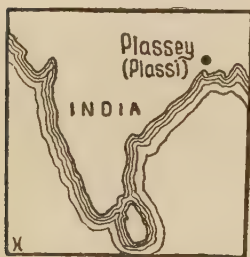
Against this French stronghold, Brigadier-General John Forbes, a Scotch physician turned soldier, was leading across Pennsylvania a force of seven thousand men, mostly provincials. Grievously sick with inflammation of the digestive organs, Forbes slowly pushed forward to his goal. The chief engineer was Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Bouquet, a Swiss, who displayed not only mili-



tary skill, but also consummate tact in managing the regulars, the provincials, and the Indians. To him almost as much as to Forbes or to Washington belongs the credit of the final success of the expedition. The long delays of the forward march worked to the advantage of the English, for it wearied the Indian allies of the French and gave them opportunity to remember the abundance and the cheapness of the goods supplied by the English traders. As a result of the mission to them on the part of Christian Frederic Post, a Moravian apostle of peace, who had married among the Indians, a great convention of many tribes was held at Easton, Pa., in October, and peace was agreed upon. An advance guard of Highlanders was defeated by the French and Indians, and nearly three hundred were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The forward movement was very slow; week by week, the French garrison dwindled away. When

Forbes arrived at Fort Duquesne, November 25, he found the barracks and storehouses burned, and the fortifications blown up. He had won for England the gateway to the West. In March of next year, at Philadelphia, this man of fortitude and surpassingly good judgment died of the disease that he had so bravely endured through that long campaign against the forest, the climate, and the ills and sins of human nature as it displays itself on the march and in the camp.

The year of the capture of Louisbourg, of Frontenac, and of Duquesne was the year also of the triumph of Plassey in India; yet for Eng-
France land the following year was to prove not less memorable. Dissensions had now broken out in Canada, where Governor Vaudreuil, extremely jealous of General Montcalm,—as native-born Canadians



were apt to be of the French,—worked to secure his recall by the home government. Moreover, the hordes of official thieves saw in the impending ruin the hope of forever concealing their thefts. The population was in sore straits, for all the able-bodied men were being em-

ployed in the war, while the women, the old men, and the boys must till the fields, sometimes only to see the crops taken in the king's name. In the winter, the soldiers were quartered in the homes of the people, a source of poverty and debauchery. The British had established a partial blockade of the St. Lawrence, and ships with French supplies

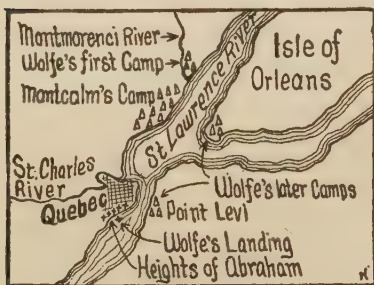
were intercepted or compelled to put back across the sea. Prices rose so high that the salaries even of officers were insufficient for their support. Convinced of the corruption in New France, and absorbed in their own selfish concerns, Louis and the Pompadour would do nothing of moment for imperiled Canada.

On the other hand, encouraged by successes on sea and land, and inspired by the great Pitt, England was ready to push to the end the project of winning Canada. To lead in this enterprise, the far-seeing statesman had selected James Wolfe, who had already distinguished himself at Louisbourg. Wolfe was now thirty-two years old; of singular figure, slender, narrow-shouldered, with receding chin and forehead, upturned nose, red hair, and keen eyes, he scarcely looked the military genius and the popular hero that he was. When that office-monger, the Duke of Newcastle, protested to George II. against the appointment of Wolfe, the old king replied, "Mad is he? Then I hope he will bite some others of my generals." An army of nearly nine thousand men was given to him for the taking of Quebec.

For the defence of this natural fortress, Montcalm marshaled fifteen thousand men. A hundred guns were mounted upon the walls of the city, and floating batteries protected its water-front. Above it rose the elevated Plains of Abraham, while below, to the east, stretched the lower ground upon which the army was encamped. Batteries had been placed to cover every line of approach. Nature seemed to have made

Siege of
Quebec

Quebec inaccessible, and military art to have rendered it impregnable. By superb seamanship, Admiral Sanders brought the fleet beneath the walls of the city without losing a ship or a man. Yet the taking of the great stronghold seemed impossible. Various skirmishes took place, while General Wolfe fortified his main camp beyond the Montmorenci, and across the vast gorge of the St. Lawrence placed two divisions of his army with abundant artillery. Between the Montmorenci and the St. Charles lay the camp of the French under Montcalm, whose force outnumbered that of Wolfe by several thousands. The cannonading between the gunboats and the batteries never ceased. The Indians scalped British



sentries and stragglers, while the New England rangers practised sharpshooting with deadly skill. Many a house in Quebec took fire from bursting shells. Robbery became common in the

city. The Canadians began to desert, for they had heard that the English under Amherst were marching up from Ticonderoga. Under cover of night, British vessels were taken up the river beyond the city. Their seamen boarded the French fireships and piloted them out of the way of the British fleet. These dangerous exploits they called taking "hell in tow." On July 31, Wolfe undertook with five thousand of his men to attack the camp of Montcalm with twelve thousand; after some heavy but indecisive fighting,

a terrible rainstorm put an end to the engagement. The English loss was four hundred and fifty men, the French loss very small. To restore among the Canadians the terror of the English, Wolfe ordered the neighboring settlements that offered any resistance to English rule to be laid waste and all the armed men to be killed. Vaudreuil had ordered his war-parties to kill all, whether men or women, armed or unarmed, through six hundred miles of borderland. Disease broke out in the English camp, while the French were put on short rations. Both Upper and Lower Quebec were in ruins from the bombardment.

Wolfe himself, always an invalid, now fell critically ill. By his request, when he became slightly improved, a council of his generals was held, which decided to recommend an attempt to reach the Plains of Abraham and to draw Montcalm to battle there. On September 3, Montmorenci below Quebec was evacuated, the forces being moved across the river. Two days later, thirty-six hundred men were on board the ships of Admiral Holmes. The French were ceaselessly vigilant. Montcalm wrote, "I have not taken off my clothes since the 23rd of June." No one knew what the English proposed to do. But Wolfe, who had forced himself upon his feet, had discovered, a mile and a half above Quebec, a slope up which, if the sentinels were careless, his army might advance. Day after day, the transports drifted with the tide back and forth, while the French upon the heights wearied themselves with running to and fro to watch them. From a deserter, it was learned that

Wolfe

the French expected several boatloads of provisions from up the river, on the night of the 12th. At two o'clock of the following morning, with thirty-six hundred men from the transports and with twelve hundred from the garrisons on the south bank, the attempt was made to gain the Heights. Wolfe in the first boatload under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel William Howe, famous indeed later, led the way. "Qui vive?" cried a sentinel; "France," replied a Highlander who knew the watchword. "À quel régiment?" "De La Reine," he replied, naming the regiment stationed by Montcalm to watch the upper river. Again, they were challenged, but passed safely as before. They gained the gully, and hastened up it, to find the sentinels asleep. That sleep cost France Quebec and the New World.

At dawn, the whole army was upon the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm was astonished at the news, but showed himself as ever cool and swift. At ten o'clock, the great battle for the Continent was on, thirty-five hundred English in line against forty-five hundred French, the tall Wolfe leading on the one side, the little Montcalm, on horseback, directing the other. The latter might have waited and secured two thousand soldiers more; but not doubting the issue, he charged upon the double English line. At forty yards, the redcoats fired their first volley, rank by rank. "Forward!" cried Wolfe to the Highlanders in front. Three bullets cut him down, but the grenadiers swept on. The Canadians fled, the regulars soon followed. In fifteen minutes, the heavy fighting was over. "They run, see how they run!" exclaimed a companion at the side of Wolfe.

"Who run?" he asked, in the stupor of coming death. "The enemy, sir. Egad, they give way everywhere." "Go," said Wolfe, "to Colonel Burton, tell him to march Webb's regiment to Charles river to cut off their retreat from the bridge. Now, God be praised, I die in peace." Thus to his last breath a general in command of an army, the great Wolfe died in victory.

**Two
Heroes Die**

Montcalm was wounded in the retreat. "It's nothing, it's nothing," said he; "don't trouble yourselves for me, my good friends." He was mortally wounded. That night he said, "I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec," and dictated despatches both wise and kind.

He lingered in great pain a day longer, then died, leaving a memory not less heroic and a record not less noble than that of his foe. In the chronicle *Urselines de Québec*, we read of the funeral of Montcalm,—“The tears and the sobs burst forth. It seemed as if the last hope of the colony were buried with the dead general.” In the meantime, Vaudreuil and the army had fled thirty miles from Quebec. Deserted by its protectors, Quebec surrendered.

While the siege of Quebec was in progress, Amherst had brought to the head of Lake George eleven thousand British soldiers, and had forced Burlamaqui out of Ticonderoga, which was blown up, and out of Crown Point, where the English set about building additional works. Many fights took place at and near Fort Niagara, with the result that the French were driven out of the entire

Amherst

region. But winter came upon the industrious, though never daring, Amherst, before he was ready to march to the assistance of Wolfe at Quebec, which unknown to him had already fallen.

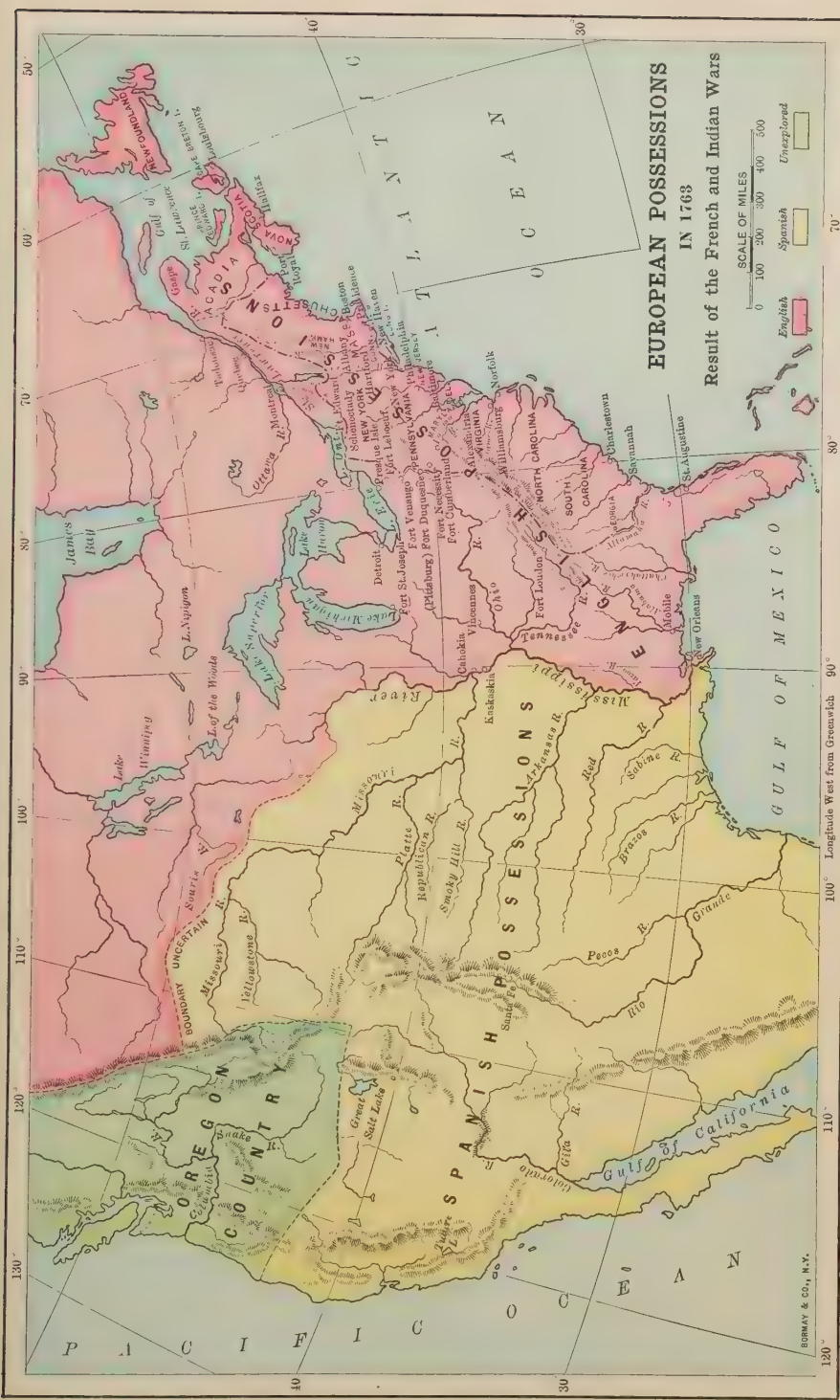
In 1760, Quebec would have been retaken by the Canadians but for substantial reinforcements brought by the English navy, which completely blockaded the St. Lawrence against the French. General Amherst with an army of fifteen thousand men was able, on September 8, to force the surrender, by Governor Vaudreuil, of Montreal and of all New France, upon terms decidedly humiliating to that elegant official brigand.

Colonial Joy The rejoicing throughout the colonies knew no bounds. Said the Reverend Nathaniel Applegate in Cambridge in an exultant sermon:

“Who can tell what great and glorious things God is about to bring forward in the world? . . . Oh, may the time come . . . when this port, . . . which till later ages was utterly unknown, shall be the glory and joy of the whole earth!”

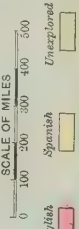
A great series of criminal trials followed in France, in which the intendant Bigot was condemned to go into exile for life and to pay a million and a half of francs, the chief government contractor Cadet to go into a nine years' exile and to pay six million francs, and others to go into briefer exiles and to pay lesser sums. Their robberies would have wrecked even a densely peopled empire. In 1763, the fearful European war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris; by its

Treaty of Paris



EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS IN 1763

Result of the French and Indian Wars



BORNAY & CO., N.Y.

terms France ceded to Great Britain all her North American possessions save New Orleans and the region west of the Mississippi. Many other changes were made in the map of the world. By a secret treaty arranged at the same time, France ceded New Orleans and the Louisiana Territory to Spain. Even more humiliating terms would probably have been exacted from France by England, if Pitt had then held the chief power; but enough had been gained. The navy by winning for England the overlordship of the sea, had made the "tight little island" the home of the chief nation of the world.

CHAPTER V

THE CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC

1763-1769

THE conquest of Canada by the English was fatal to the dominion of the red man in North America.

Doom of the Red Man The amiable missionaries who tried to induce the Indians to love peace and trade and the English were persuading them to their own ruin, as the shrewdest of them well understood. The cause of France in the New World was the cause of the aboriginal population as well. By the fall of New France, the beautiful wilderness of the Appalachians and of the Mississippi valley, as incomparable in fertility and in healthfulness of climate as it is matchless in the variety of its superb landscapes, was destined to cease to be the hunting-ground and the battle-field of half a hundred thousand savages.

At the close of the French war, nearly all the upper class of the population of Canada emigrated to France. Not so did the traders, the *habitants*, the *coureurs de bois*, and the adventurers. These humbler but more essential men and women remained. It was to the interest of many of them to stir up disaffection among the Indians, not a difficult matter,

for they had never liked the English. The French said that King Louis was asleep, but would soon awake to seize and to possess New France once more. They also said that he had delivered over to the King of England all the lands of the Indians, and that the English intended to root them out of the country. There was indeed more truth in this threatening prophecy than the English traders who tried to overcome its influence themselves knew.

Then arose Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, and head of a confederacy to which also belonged the Objibwas and the Pottawattamies. All the Algonkins knew this remarkable man.

Pontiac

Already fifty years of age, he had played his part in the French wars and knew by experience some of the ways of civilization. He saw that with the fall of New France, the Indians no longer held the balance of power but were become once more mere barbarians without alliances with French civilization and therefore hopelessly inferior to the great English people. Eloquent, persistent, revengeful, eager, this skilful manager of the wild men was the most dangerous Indian leader that the whites ever encountered. He understood (as did few other red men) that the Indians could not drive the English out of America, but he hoped to hold them back until the time when the French should return.

A Delaware prophet (according to some really an Abenaki) arose, declaring that the great Manitou had come to him in vision, saying,—“I am the Lord of Life; it is I who have made all men; I wake for their safety.

**The
Struggle**

Therefore, I give you warning; if you suffer the

English to dwell among you, their diseases and their poisons will destroy you utterly, and you will die." It is evident from this prophetic deliverance, that the results of scalping smallpox patients and of drinking rum had not been lost upon "the untutored savage."

It was easy for Pontiac, supported by such preaching, to organize a great conspiracy for a simultaneous attack upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, which after the fall of Fort Duquesne had been extended far westward. The first blow was struck in June, 1763, and fell upon the traders. Nine English outposts in the Northwest were taken, and their garrisons were massacred or dispersed. Colonel Bouquet saved Fort Pitt (where Pittsburg now stands); and the Indians did not attempt to take Fort Niagara; but the siege of Detroit was maintained until Colonel Bradstreet came to its relief in 1764, driving away Pontiac himself. For two years the war dragged on, with Roger's Rangers useful as ever in the forest-fighting, but interrupted by many conferences to discuss peace. Even Pontiac with all his abilities could not hold together his "forty-seven nations," many of whom were bitter enemies of one another. Peace had partly been restored when the English frontiersmen, without direct provocation, again began their murderous work. But no general war broke out. In 1769, when upon a friendly visit to Cahokia, Pontiac, the foremost Indian in American history, was assassinated by a fellow red man of an Illinois tribe, who had been bribed by the promise of a barrel of liquor to do this dastardly but by no means uncommon deed. As Pontiac was singing a medicine-song alone in the woods, an unerring

tomahawk was thrown, burying its keen edge in his brain. The authorities at St. Louis gave to his body an honorable funeral. His friends among the Indians promptly fell upon the Illinois tribes and exterminated them.

The life and the death of Pontiac and the revenge after it displayed the utter incapacity of his race to unite in social order and harmony and to maintain an organization by means of which to carry a great cause to fulfillment. Their will was "the wind's will," blowing fiercely and from every quarter, but never for long, for they were "children," as they so often declared themselves. We remember these children of the early adolescent stage not less with pity than with horror. Wronged both by the French who taught them new superstitions, encouraged them in their barbarities, and cheated them in trade, and also by the English who stole their lands, murdered them on sight, whether good or bad, and looked upon them with scorn, unspeakably wronged by the acquisition of gunpowder and rum (those twin exponents of civilization) without the countervailing influences of what was highest and best in European culture, the Indians sullenly retreated to the prairies and the setting sun. They were defeated by the coherent mass, the social solidarity, of the invaders, and by the superior wisdom and persistence of their leaders, for, on the average, man for man, in all that spoke for bodily health and vigor and for the activity of the senses, the Algonkins and Iroquois of the eastern regions of North America far surpassed the white immigrants, as the comparative death-rolls of

**A Com-
parison**

the frontier so gruesomely testify. With an inexhaustible capacity alike for loyalty and for treachery, turning in a flash from indolence to amazing energy, the Indians were more to be dreaded by the Europeans in America than any wild beasts.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.—WAR.—1698-1774

- 1701, Mich.—The French send an expedition to occupy Detroit.
 1702-13.—Queen Anne's War. ("War of the Spanish Succession.")
 1705, Me.—Indian Church and village burned at Norridgewock.—Fla.—The Spanish defeated on Appalachee Bay.
 1708, S. C.—French are repulsed at Charleston.
 1707, Canada—Conquest of Acadia attempted by Mass.
 1708, N. H.—French and Indian victory at Haverhill.—Mass.—Indian Scalp bounty.
 1710, Port Royal (Nova Scotia) is taken.
 1711, Expeditions against Quebec.—N. C.—Carey rebellion and Indian war.
 1712, Mich.—Detroit surrenders to the Fox Indians.
 1713, N. C.—Tuscaroras, defeated, move northward and become the Sixth Nation.
 1715-17, S. C.—Indian War. Yamasis driven into Florida.
 1722-25.—New England War against Indians.
 1723, Me.—Abenaki village burned on the Penobscot.—Miss.—Second Natchez War.
 1725, Me.—Eastern Indians sign a peace with the English.
 1726.—The French build Fort Niagara.
 1730, La.—Natchez massacre of 1729 revenged.
 1731, N. Y.—The French build a fort at Crown Point.
 1735-40.—The Chickasaw War.
 1739-42, Ga.—English and Spanish colonial war.
 1740, Ala.—Chickasaws promise peace.—Ga.—Oglethorpe invades Florida.
 1744-48.—King George's War. (Between France and England.)
 1745, New Eng.—Successful expedition against Louisbourg.—N. Y.—French and Indians attack Saratoga.
 1749-57.—French and English struggle for Ohio Valley.
 1754-63.—French and Indian War.
 1754, Pa.—Virginians build a fort at Pittsburg. French capture it (Ft. Du Quesne).
 —Washington victorious at Great Meadows.—Defeated at Ft. Necessity.
 1755, Va.—Frontier Indian warfare (lasts for years).—Mass.—Attack on Acadia successful.—Pa.—Braddock defeated near Ft. Du Quesne.
 1756, N. Y.—Oswego surrendered to French.—Va.—Washington drives Indians out of Shenandoah Valley.
 1758, N. Y.—Ticonderoga won by French.—Pa.—Ft. Du Quesne abandoned to the English.
 1759, Canada.—Ft. Niagara and Quebec capitulate to the English.
 1759-61, Tenn. and Va.—Cherokee War.
 1760, Canada.—Montreal taken by the English.—Mich.—Pontiac's War.
 1763.—Treaty of Paris closes French and Indian War.
 1766, La.—New Orleans possessed by Spain under Ulloa.
 1770, Mass.—The "Boston Massacre."
 1772, R. I.—The *Gaspee* is grounded and burned.
 1774, W. Va.—Shawnee War.—N. H.—Patriots capture fort at Portsmouth.

Part Three
Industry

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE - 1698-1774

AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURE

TRADE TRANSPORTATION FINANCE

1700 200,000	1702, Eng.—Queen Anne promotes Negro slavery in the colonies	1698, Mass.—“Acts of Trade” ignored
1704, Mass.—1st successful newspaper (weekly)		1699-1709.—Tobacco Panic 1700.—N.H. “laughs at” Eng. lumber trade laws 1702-1750.—Chief issues of paper money 1704, R.I.—Discriminating tonnage tax
1710-20.—Copper production begins 1713, Mass.—The schooner invented 1713-45, New Eng.—Wheat growing almost abandoned		1712.—Tobacco “rolling houses” established Boston.—1st hackney coach 1715, N.Y.—Discriminating tonnage tax 1717-23.—Piracy of trade suppressed
1719, New Eng.—Potatoes introduced. Flax growing given new life		1721.—Boston and Newport “Express” started
1725, Carolina.—Rice growing successful 1725-30.—Paper manufacture begins its real progress		1725, Mass.—Bounty for Indian scalps, £100 (paper) 1725-65.—Bondage of barter broken
1730 Pa.—Farmers probably make 9/10 of their clothing 1734 Ga.—Slavery forbidden (adopted, 1751) 1735 Eng.—Colonial warren tested in British navy yards. (Reports favorable)		1731-32.—High colonial wage gives Eng. 20% advantage in linen manufacture 1732.—N.Y. and Boston stage route opened 1733, Eng.—The “Molasses Act” passed 1736.—Boston and Newport stage route opened
1740, S.C.—Indigo production begins Eleven newspapers in the colonies 1743 Pa.—1st German Bible printed 1745-74.—Fire-arms manufactured 1746-74.—Open sea whaling develops		1741, New Eng.—“A thousand sail” in trade 1745-62.—Lotteries common for debt-lifting, fire-losses, church and college benefits, &c.
1750.—New rolling and sitting-mills prohibited in the colonies. — Southern Col.—Live oak for ship building introduced 1752, Boston.—1st English Bible printed 1750-70.—Prominence of silk growing		1750.—England admits colonial iron free S.C. exports “Philadelphia Flour” to West Indies 1754, Md.—Discriminating tonnage tax
1760, Phila. Co.—83 Grist mills 1760. (about)—Dutch looms introduced 1760-70, Fla.—Agricultural development	1760 3,500,000	1760-74.—New Eng. trade greater with W.I. than with England 1761.—Boston resists “Writs of Assistance” 1765.—“Stamp Act” passed 1766.—N.Y. and Phila. “Express” (two days) 1767.—“The Intolerable Acts” passed
1763-72, Pa.—Agriculture struggles in the Wyoming Valley 1764, N.Y.—Soc. promoting arts and agriculture 1769, Pa., N.J. & Del.—40 paper mills	1770	1770.—Export of cotton begins
1770.—Cotton growing for profit begins Tenn.—Agriculture begins 1774.—28 newspapers and 40 printing presses	1774	1771.—Great trade rivalry 1773.—“Boston Tea Party” 1774.—Boston blockaded

Explanatory: — Increase of population is indicated: 1, By the size of the circles. 2, By the distance each circle is placed from the left hand edge of the diagram. — Events are representative, not exhaustive.

2,700,000

CHAPTER I

INDUSTRY

1698-1774

Two strong purposes possessed the American colonists as the eighteenth century stepped upon the threshold of time. The preparation of the seventeenth century was completed.

**Colonial
Passions**

The new generations of men and women in the New World had shaken off the lethargy, the traditions, and the handicaps their ancestors had brought from the Old World. Their lungs were full of the free air, their blood full of the free life, and their purpose full of the strong desire for unhampered accomplishment. Their vision was not far, but their faith was strong that beyond this vision was a goal higher than the world had ever reached, and their determination was firmly set to reach that goal.

In New England, the overmastering passion was industry: sturdy, dogged, persistent industry. Early and late, in the kitchen, in the field, in the mill, in the forest, in the sea paths leading from colony to colony, on the high seas leading to foreign lands: sturdy, dogged, persistent industry. The meed

was freedom: The right to do with the rewards of industry whatsoever they who had earned the rewards willed to do. To secure this right, this freedom, was the other great universal passion of the eighteenth century colonists. This passion of vital sentiment pushed the practical passion of tireless industry ever forward to greater accomplishment.

Much has been written of the spirit of independence that grew among the colonists in the eighteenth century as strong plants grow in a rich soil. The term has by its heretofore general historical use taken on rather a political than an industrial aspect. The records of the century, carefully read, show clearly that whatever longing the colonists possessed for the right to make all of their own laws sprung directly from their hunger for industrial freedom. To have freedom of production, freedom of trade, freedom of transportation, freedom of taxation according to their own need, as judged by themselves, was the root of the whole spirit of independence: Independence to use the rewards of industry, as they who had won the rewards willed.

That spirit was phrased in a conditional form at the very threshold of the century in Penn's *Frame of Government*, which opened to "every man professing faith in Christ, the right to every public employment." It appeared in a different form at almost the same date, in the same colony, when England called for a quota of money toward a war fund to prepare for prospective war with France. The sturdy Quakers refused compliance on the ground that the advancement of their industries

was quite as important as war. Nor was this an isolated case. It merely represents the sentiment and action of other colonies on the same subject. They held that industry and its rewards were paramount, and were not to be interrupted by prospective war.

Historians sometimes refer to the effective eloquence of Patrick Henry, James Otis, and other earnest patriots as the seed-sowing of freedom. Rather should their most valuable orations be called the flowering of the vigorous plant, already well grown from seed sown by preceding generations, about to yield its priceless harvest. The blooming was as necessary as the seeding. Without the blossom, there can be no fruitage. These great men were the heralds of the silent masses, who through more than a hundred years of arduous industry, loyal sacrifice, and incomparable patience, had laid the foundations of liberty in field and forest, shop and market, mine and mill: The right to toil untrammelled on land and sea alike, and to use the just rewards of toil, as they, the toilers, willed.

In New England, the scanty returns of the rugged soil were ever supplemented by the busy wheel spinning its endless task of thread and yarn, the clattering loom weaving its web of warp and woof, the fireside anvil ever adding to its growing store of home-made nails, the cobbler's bench that kept the soles of men from winter's ice and snow. Outside the family roof, the pungent tan-vats cured a stock of leather for the cobbler's use; the whirling windmills and the pent-up streams gave power to grind the corn for

New
England

food and to saw the forest growths for homes and ships and foreign trade, while fishermen and sailormen drew values from the salty seas. Nor should the reader miss the fact that as the love of labor grew, so grew the love of thrift. The Jesuit Charlevoix, comparing the New Englanders with the Frenchmen in Canada, says: "The English colonist keeps as much and spends as little as possible; the French colonist enjoys what he has got and often makes a display of what he has not got. The one labors for his heirs; the other leaves them to get on as they can, like himself."

As an example of New England thrift, it is narrated of one James Burnham, of Norwich, Conn., that, beginning soon after the middle of the century, he personally took to the village market within twenty years, two thousand five hundred loads of wood, all but fifty loads from his own land and most of it cut by himself, and with not an accident of any kind, even to the bruising of a finger.

The soil of the Middle Colonies, less rugged, yielded more bountifully, and agriculture thrived predominant. Wheat and flax and hemp

**Middle
Colonies**

added much to generous crops of corn.

Fruit orchards gave a good return.

Flocks and herds were plentiful, not needing so much the greater burden of care and food required by the sharper winters of New England. Life was somewhat less strenuous, yet the passionate push of freedom kept men sharply to their tasks, and so the fiber of endurance was well knit and each new generation made its forward step with a firm tread in the pathway of human progress.

In the Southern Colonies, the passion for freedom was none the less strong, but its demands upon industry were less insistent. To do as they chose with the rewards of their toil was as dear to them as to their northern brothers, but they felt no need of producing their own clothing in order to be free from the domination of England. Once free, they could buy where they would, whether of Europe, New England, or the West Indies. In their warm climate, they chose to grow their easily raised corn, tobacco, rice, and indigo, and to breed their abundant half-wild flocks and herds needing little care, and to exchange their surplus products of these first-hand fruits with those peoples who found it to their advantage to grind grain, saw lumber, build ships, and sail them far and wide. Because much of the work was done by slaves, because the mild climate made it easy to meet a desire of home provision less ambitious than that of their northern neighbors, and because a dwelling-house and clothing for a warm climate cost fewer dollars than for a cold climate, the passion for freedom pushed more lightly upon toil, so industry was not developed to the point of passion. Bancroft pictures life in the Carolinas, at the middle of the century, after this fashion: Farm animals thrive in the warm wild lands. The spurs of the Alleghanies supplied excellent furs in abundance. Fish abounded in the streams, and the occupants of the unowned lands lived a leisurely life, paying little heed to the easy-going tax-collectors, or to laws of any sort, yet they were not criminal or vagrant. No towns, no villages.

**Southern
Colonies**

A scattered, quiet, prosperous people, living like children on the bounty of Nature.

Boats came up their streams and collected their products at profitable rates. Expenses were next to nothing. Their clothing came from England and was paid for by the prodigal profits of their soils and streams and forests at small outlay of labor. There was plenty of elbow-room, and the friction of crowding neighbors had not come. There was at times political strife over government policies, but to most of the planters it was as unknown as though it had not occurred.

This was the one extreme. In the other colonies, especially in New England, the love of work had already become a dominating twin to the love of freedom. Men and women, even then, would have been miserable without unceasing employment. An idler was in contempt, and idle hours were almost sinful hours.

Of prominent interest to the industrial development of this period was the influence of slave-labor in the several colonies. It is a matter of record that at the very beginning of oversea commerce by New England merchants, at the middle of the seventeenth century, the slave-trade became a regular business. Ships taking lumber and fish to the Madeira islands and to the Canaries ordinarily visited the coast of Africa "to trade for Negroes." These Negroes were usually sold on the return voyage at some of the British West India islands, as the demand in New England was small. Sometimes considerable sales were made in the tobacco colonies, Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas.

There were few Negroes in New England, and the influence on industry was unimportant. Passing southward, the proportion increased and the industrial effect was relative. Pennsylvania and Virginia made notable efforts to shake off the incubus, by laying almost prohibitive duties against the import of Negroes, but the Crown annulled the duties and exerted a powerful influence to increase slavery in the colonies, for both industrial and political reasons. For example: a political tract published in England about the middle of the eighteenth century averred: "Negro labor will keep our British colonies in a due subserviency . . . for while our colonies depend only upon planting by Negroes, our colonies can never prove injurious to British manufacture, never become independent of their kingdom." Further evidence of this attitude is noted in the perspective at the close of this chapter.

Following are examples of the regulations in operation in Virginia: Servants were often "sold for the custom" to serve five or more years according to their ages — the age to be adjudged by the court. Masters were to provide food and clothing "by direction of the county court." Masters were not to "whip a Christian white servant naked" without an order from a justice of the peace. Fines on servants, if not otherwise paid, were to be whipped out at about sixty cents per stroke.

In several of the colonies, South as well as North, bounties were offered to stimulate manufactures, but they became effective only as the colonists themselves were inclined toward that branch of industry. Great Britain

**Industrial
Aids**

supplemented colonial legislation to stimulate the growth of certain agricultural products and in some cases the initial products of manufacture, as crude iron, copper bars, etc., but, in general, the individual attitude of the colonists determined the results. If they found other products more profitable, they gave their effective effort to those other products.

In New York, some dozen years before the Revolutionary War, a society was organized with the avowed intention of promoting colonial industry, especially in the production of linen cloth. Records indicate that its efforts were eminently successful and that its benefits also reached out into woollen manufacture and other branches of industry. Other colonies, by similar action, or by stress of local conditions moved steadily forward in the pathway of industrial independence, so that when the "Stamp Act" and the "Tea Tax" fired the colonial tinder-box, the conflagration blazed forth from South to North in one simultaneous burst of indignant resolve to become industrially free at once.

As an example of the determined spirit with which this resolve was made, the following record is given of the action taken by the freeholders and other inhabitants of Boston, at Faneuil Hall, Oct. 27, 1767.

Non-Consumption

"Whereas this Province labours under a heavy Debt, incurred in the Course of the late War; and the Inhabitants by this Means, shall be for some Time subject to very burthensome Taxes; And as our Trade has for some Years; been on the decline, and is now particularly under great Embarrassments, and burthened with heavy Impositions, our Medium

very scarce, and the Balance of Trade greatly against this country

“WE therefore the Subscribers being sensible that it is absolutely necessary, in Order to extricate us out of these embarassed and distressed Circumstances, to promote Industry, Oeconomy and Manufactures among ourselves, and by this means prevent the unnecessary Importtaion of European Commodities, the excessive Use of which threatens the Country with Poverty and Ruin—DO promise and engage, to and with each other, that we will encourage the Use and Consumption of all Articles manufactured in any of the British American Colonies, and more especially in this Province; and that we will not, from and after the 31st of December next ensuing, purchase any of the following Articles, imported from Abroad, viz, Loaf Sugar, Cordage, Anchors, Coaches and Carriages of all Sorts, Horse Furniture, Men and Womens Hatts, Mens and Womens Apparel ready made, Household Furniture, Gloves, Mens and Womens Shoes, Sole Leather, Sheathing and Deck Nails, Gold and Silver and Thread Lace of all Sorts, Gold and Silver Buttons, Wrought Plate of all Sorts, Diamond, Stone and Paste Ware, Snuff, Mustard, Clocks and Watches, Silversmiths and Jewellers Ware, Broad Cloths that cost above 10s. per Yard, Muffs Furs and Tippets, and all Sorts of Millenary Ware, Starch, Womens and Childrens Stays, Fire Engines, China Ware, Silk and Cotton Velvets, Gauze, Pewterers hollow Ware, Linseed Oyl, Glue, Lawns, Cambricks, Silks of all kinds for Garments, Malt Liquors and Cheese.

“And we further agree strictly to adhere to the late regulation respecting Funerals, and will not use any Gloves but what are Manufactured here, nor procure any new Garments upon such an Occasion, but what shall be absolutely necessary. . . . Voted unanimously in the Affirmative.”

How persistent and how dominant this spirit of industrial independence was may be learned from the following striking testimony of Daniel Webster, uttered a half-century after the full attainment of

that independence, when referring to the jeopardy of its accomplishment in the final act of the amazing drama. In a speech at Albany, N. Y., on August 27, 1844, Mr. Webster said:

"I defy the man in any degree conversant with history, in any degree acquainted with the annals of this country from 1787 to 1789, when the Constitution was adopted, to say that protection of American labor and industry, was not a leading, I might almost say, the leading motive, South as well as North, for the formation of the new government. Without that provision in the Constitution, it never could have been adopted."

Before passing to the consideration of individual industries or groups of industries, it is pertinent to note the oft-repeated testimony of **Advance-** historians that in spite of the persistence **ment** of England in her efforts to hamper colonial industry; in spite of the supposed hindrance of a mass of depreciated and depreciating paper currency; in spite of an almost unbroken war-period of thirty years supplemented by many lesser military conflicts; in spite of political strife in colonial legislatures; in spite of a cloud of bigotry and intolerance among ecclesiastics,—the great masses of the colonists, the multitude of bread-winners of that period, dominated by the two grand passions of industry and freedom, carried the colonies ever forward upon a rising tide of prosperity.

This steady advance in the final years preceding the Revolutionary War crowned their work with a success written in larger letters than it had ever been written before. This industrial attainment it was, in the final struggle, that formed the bulwark

against which attempted British domination, though backed by British cannon, beat in vain. While the fathers and older sons fought with musket and bayonet, the industrial battles were won at their homes by patriot sons in the field,—most of them mere boys, but lads of strong, brave lives, and by patriot wives and daughters at the spindle and at the loom — brave women with bleeding hearts, and by patriot iron-workers at the mine and forge, by patriot shoemakers at the cobbler's bench, by patriot grinders at the mill, by patriot lumbermen at the saws, by patriot shipbuilders and sailormen on the ships. These kept the ragged, rugged patriots of the Revolutionary army and navy from sheer starvation, and so won out in the greatest battle for freedom the world has ever known.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—INDUSTRY—1698-1774

NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.

- 1700, Pa.—“Penn's Frame” gave a conditional right to every public employment.
 1701, Boston.—Representatives to “put a period to Negroes being slaves.”—Pa.—Trade and transportation quite as important as war.
 1702, Eng.—Queen Anne instructs N. Y. and N. J. governors to encourage slavery.
 1706, Md.—White slaves (servants) always in the market.
 1711, Eng.—“The plantations (colonies) ought to be supplied with Negroes at reasonable rates” [House of Commons].
 1712, Pa.—Prohibitive duty against the importation of Negroes (annulled by the Crown).
 1724, Va.—Import of slaves, 1000 per year.
 1726, Eng.—A Virginia law to check Negro importation repealed.
 1734, Ga.—Slavery forbidden.
 1740, S. C.—Slaves and their children made perpetual chattels.
 1745, Eng.—“Negro labor will keep our British colonies in a due subserviency.”
 1746, Boston.—“A few boy servants, indentured for seven years, and girls for four years” (for sale).
 1750, Boston.—Irish servants for sale.
 1751, Ga.—Slavery, on a religious plea. This made every colony slaveholding.
 1756-66, New Eng.—Large slave-trade—chiefly for West India sales.
 1757, R. I.—Penalty of £500 against export of slaves by privateers.
 1760, S. C.—Attempt to restrict slavery rebuked by the English ministry.
 1764, N. Y.—Society for promotion of Arts, Agriculture, and Economy.
 1770, Eng.—The king instructs the governor of Virginia to assent to no law restricting the importation of slaves.
 1771-74, Mass.—Prosperity abounds.

CHAPTER II

AGRICULTURE

1698-1774

THE world's greatest agricultural experiment was in full swing as the curtain lifted upon the incoming of the eighteenth century. The problem of this world's future food-supply was meeting its solution at the hands of an earnest group of American colonists, unconscious of the great service they were accomplishing for future generations. Three fourths of that century passed, bringing the record down to the Declaration of Independence before the gigantic experimental dream closed and the beginning of real agricultural awakening came. In the meantime, our cereals were becoming acclimated, and our herds and flocks were becoming Americanized. Little by little, the passing decades were building the New World characteristics into root and plant and seed. Little by little, cattle and horses were taking on the peculiar toughened fiber which gave them their large value for field labor and road service.

Little by little, through the enterprise of colonial shipmasters, our farmers were reaching out into foreign ports as markets for their surplus crops.

England placed hindrance after hindrance in their paths, but they sturdily pushed them aside or pluckily shaped new paths. Some years, the sales in foreign ports were large,—large for that struggle of experiment, and then the mother-country placed another bar across the way and blocked new enterprise. Then the sales dropped down again until our patient, sturdy forbears, prisoned in their homes, opened up another route, or broke the bar that prisoned them.

During this same period, England was herself also making important experimental strides. Under the title "Agriculture" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, John Wilson says: "At the beginning of the eighteenth century the agriculture of England was still of the rudest kind. With the exception of certain parts of England, the land was for the most part unenclosed, the live stock of each township grazing together, and the arable land being occupied in common field or run-rig." Wheat was receiving especial attention. Clover and turnips were under careful study by a few practical farmers, the rotation of crops was coming into favorable practice, and new land was being rapidly put under cultivation. In trying to build up manufacture at home, by checking it in her colonies, England was striving to provide a home market for her agricultural products, so that both agriculture and manufacture would be effectively advanced. She was therefore fighting for the vital interests of her people at home, threatened by her enterprising children oversea.

English
Experiment

Even in the latter part of the seventeenth century,

some of the American Colonies were producing a surplus. There was an almost continuous (yet widely fluctuating) export of breadstuffs, animals, and animal products to the Mediterranean region and to the West Indies. There would have been a still larger surplus of animals and animal product but for the difficulty of obtaining improved English stock. For example, in his *Essays on Sheep Husbandry in New England*, Jared Eliot says: "The English Breed of Cotswold Sheep cannot be obtained, or at least without great Difficulty: for Wool live Sheep are contraband Goods, which all strangers are prohibited from carrying out [of England] on pain of having their right Hand cut off."

Pork was abundantly supplied by the Southern Colonies, as the warmer climate made its production cheap, and Mr. Jared Eliot hazarded the prediction that "The banks of the Ohio and Mississippi may in future supply beef for exportation."

As a result of the general horseback riding (wagon-roads were not yet common), and because of good corn feeding, the northern ports, especially New York and New Haven, were exporting saddle-horses, while Philadelphia led in the outgoing product of wheat and breadstuffs.

During the eighteenth century, agriculture made large conquests of new regions. Almost at the opening of the century, Virginia offered every new-coming resident fifty acres of land. Additional land could also be taken up at a survey charge of one shilling sterling (about 25c.) for each ten acres, limited to five hundred acres,

A Surplus

Conquest

except when taken by owners of five taxable slaves or servants. If more than five, then two hundred acres additional for each such slave or servant, but not over four thousand acres in any one tract. All patents became void within three years, unless a house were built and at least one acre of land cleared, planted, and tended. Title, however, did not become absolute for fifty years.

During the second decade, Louisiana was opened to agriculture under a French grant, giving exclusive right to cultivate land, to trade, and to have Negro slaves. The beginning was full of suffering, and even forty years later the half-starving colonists were appealing to France for food, but it finally became an important center of agricultural progress for southern products.

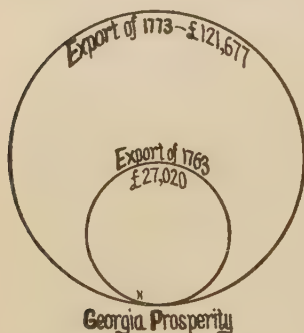
About the middle of the century (following King George's War), France again invited agriculture to locate in America,—this time to occupy the northern headwaters of the Ohio river. The offer was made to disbanded soldiers, of a grant of land, accompanied by a cow and calf, a cock and five hens, an axe, a hoe, a gun with powder and shot, grain for seed, and rations for three years. French wives were sent to them, or they married Indian maids of the forest. Success crowned the effort, and in a few years boats from this "Illinois Country" went down to New Orleans in December, carrying flour, corn, hog and bear bacon, beef, pork, buffalo robes, hides and tallow, to feed and to furnish their brother Frenchmen of Louisiana. In February, the return was made, with European goods for settlers and the Indian trade.

Louisiana

Northern
Ohio Valley

Meanwhile, Georgia had many disappointing experiences during its two decades of experiment with silk, wine, olives, and other products, pitting free-labor against slave-labor. At Savannah, a frequent toast was, "The one thing needful" (slaves). At the middle of the century, the adoption of slavery brought prosperity; as its foreign market was practically its only market, the measure of its export is a good index of its progress. A remarkable decade of that progress is graphically pictured by the two circles of the accompanying diagram.

It was at the middle of the century, too, that England made a grant of a large tract of land in the northern Ohio valley, and the first English agriculturists pushed beyond the Alleghanies into those rich, fertile lands, to contest their occupation with the ex-soldiers of the disbanded French armies, and finally to gain the control of that wonderful valley, richer than any American colonist had hith-



erto cultivated.

Some ten years after the first crossing of the Alleghanies, Florida was ceded by Spain to Great Britain, and immediately colonial agriculture began a rapid development of that semi-tropical region. About the same time, following the close of the Cherokee war, South Carolina received many settlers. This addition was not at once an advantage to the

peaceful agriculture of that peace-loving colony, for many of the new settlers, while thrifty enough to steal, were too lazy or too criminal to work, and, as there was no court except at Charleston, the outlying regions were obliged to organize "Regulators" to protect property and life.

Following the close of the French and Indian War, the fertile Wyoming valley attracted settlers from both Connecticut and Pennsylvania, and while its acres were cleared and industry progressed, the two sets of claimants had serious quarrels, lasting for many long years.

The final close of the thirty-year war-period had its influence in advancing the northern frontier as well as those on the west and south.

To be a freeholder (landowner) was the ambition of all men in New England.

New
England

They married young and raised large families. The sons, skilled in the use of the axe and the rifle, as well as in the tilling of fields, sought new homes in the wilderness, worked, and thrived, pushing on into the newer lands beyond the ever-advancing frontier in Maine, New Hampshire, and Connecticut.

Thus while the milder climate of the South attracted planters and herdsmen, and the southern mountain foot-hills gave the huntsmen abundance of fur, and while the human stream crossed the Alleghanies to cultivate the rich northern Ohio valley, the colder region of New England had its expansion also. Finally, a few years before the Revolutionary War, the famous Daniel Boone and his companions invaded the fertile Ohio valley, and began to

carve out homes and open Kentucky and Tennessee to agriculture.

During the fifteen years preceding the Revolutionary War, the older portions of the colonies were making marked advances. Fed by rapidly developing agricultural communities, New York and Philadelphia were outstripping Boston, which was in the middle of a half-century of comparative industrial stagnation. Newport, Baltimore, and Norfolk were becoming important commercial towns, and the smaller New England coast towns were in thrifty advancement. With wealth came litigation, and lawyers (formerly under ban alike of Puritan and of Cavalier views) began to find their places in the great industrial army of the New World.

After this general survey of progress during the three quarters of a century under review, consideration may be given to individual agricultural products. As in the seventeenth century, so in the eighteenth, corn was the vital crop. It still supplied the great bulk of food for man and beast. During the whole century "Rye and Indian" (mostly "Indian") was the staple bread. Each good housewife had her own "receipt." Some loaves were tender, toothsome, and tempting; others crude, and hard, and serious. So also of the pure corn foods: the "pone," the Indian "pudding," "samp," and "hominy," and the whole "hulled corn." The pride of cookery was no paltry thing in those colonial homes. The table reputations of colonial dames—real colonial dames they were—were not lightly held, or lightly recognized among

the sturdy farmers and their sturdy sons, who tilled the fields and felled the forests to enlarge their homes.

In that eighteenth century with its expanding trade, there came the beginning of the use of sugar to increase the use of corn. A little extra sweetening gave the loaf an extra relish, and a dressing of molasses to a dish of "mush" or "samp" enhanced its gustatory qualities. True, in most colonial homes this extra relish was an infrequent luxury, but it served to give to corn a larger value as a staple food, and so increased its general production.

As in the seventeenth, so in the eighteenth century, corn was almost exclusively grown for home consumption. Some was sent into the West Indies, some to neighboring colonies; but there is no satisfactory indication that such sales were more than a small fraction of the total crop. Just as the farmer cut his firewood for his own great fireplace, so in the main he raised his field of corn to furnish his own table and to feed his own flocks and herds and droves and those of his near-by townspeople who perchance had little or no land.

The seventeenth century closed with a record of a small surplus of wheat in some portions of New England and the Middle Colonies, and a larger one in Virginia. The coming of **Wheat** the eighteenth century rapidly broadened successful wheat cultivation. Next to corn, that is, next to "Rye and Indian," wheat held the highest rank as a food product. Its cultivation extended to all the colonies, and it became a prominent article of export as grain and flour and bread. As records were then written, it is difficult to know how much

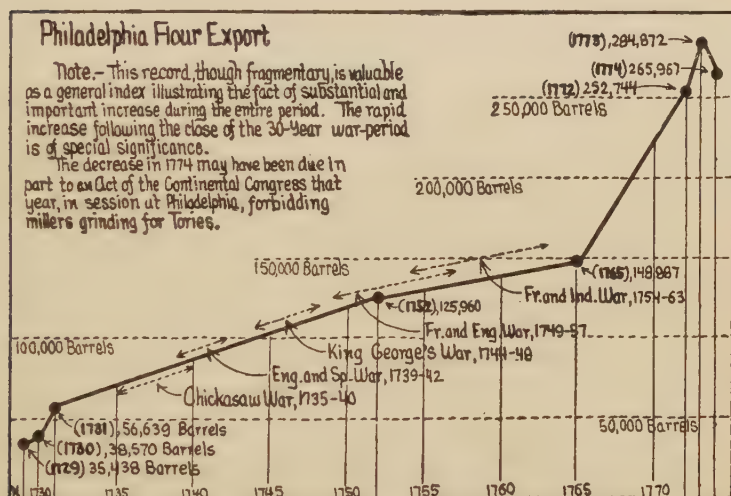
of the "corn" was wheat, for, as in England, the term corn, when used without its descriptive "Indian," often meant wheat. There are, however, sufficient records under the term wheat to prove its wide cultivation in the Middle and Southern Colonies. It is a regret, however, to write that after the middle of the century New England was rapidly abandoning its cultivation and was already importing it (chiefly for city use), from New York and the Southern Colonies.

Ten years after the middle of the century, Philadelphia county had eighty-three grist-mills, and Philadelphia flour excelled in quality as well as in quantity. As a consequence, much of the wheat of the Southern Colonies was marketed there. The diagram on page 307 marks the growth of the grain production of the Southern and Middle Colonies during the half-century preceding the Revolutionary War, as indicated by the Philadelphia export market. It should be remembered that much of this export was to other American Colonies and to the West Indies.

Virginia had so far broadened its agriculture, beyond the bounds of its tobacco fields, that during the decade preceding the Revolutionary War, besides raising all the breadstuffs required for its own people, it appeared to have an average annual surplus of eight hundred thousand bushels of wheat and three fourths as much of corn. It is altogether probable, however, that much of this amount went to Philadelphia and Baltimore, to be returned as flour and meal. Maryland's proportionate production evidently exceeded that of Virginia, and in general

reputation Baltimore flour rivaled that of Philadelphia.

Even South Carolina raised a goodly crop of wheat; and at the approach of the Revolutionary War, whether the colonists raised wheat chiefly to eat or chiefly to sell, they were much better prepared to supply their soldiers with food than if their



whole dependence had been on corn, which does not keep well after grinding.

As it was in the seventeenth, so in the eighteenth century, tobacco was still the leading crop for export, and the measure of export was practically the measure of the whole crop, because, relatively, very little was consumed within the producing districts. Therefore, as in the century preceding, it was the great spectacular crop of the colonies, attracting the attention of

Tobacco

the parent country more than did all other important products, which were building the real foundations of American independence.

The experience of the tobacco planters was not an unbroken experience of universal prosperity. The early years of the century were seriously clouded by a very low market value. So low did the price drop that much of the product, especially of the poorer grades, was not worth harvesting. As a result, the attention of the planters was, perforce, temporarily turned to manufacturing their own clothing; and by the end of the first decade of the century, even in one of the best tobacco counties of Virginia, the colonists, according to Governor Spotswood, were raising flax and growing wool and making above four thousand yards of cloth per year.

After the period of extremely low prices closed, the increased import duty laid on tobacco by England reduced the profits of the planters. The various agents and merchants through whose hands the tobacco passed on its way from the planter to the consumer so multiplied their various charges (each item of which was deducted from the planters' profits) that it seemed for a time as though the business of tobacco-raising was doomed to be fatally throttled by the middlemen.

However, in spite of all drawbacks, the market records show a large increase. During the first decade of the century, even while the prices were so disastrously low, the colonies marketed a yearly average of twenty-nine million pounds, fully fifty per cent. more than at the close of the preceding century. By the middle of the century, the average

had risen to forty million pounds, and at the beginning of the Revolutionary War it was nearly one hundred million.

While tobacco was a leading product in Maryland, in the Carolinas, and in Louisiana, and while some was raised in the Connecticut valley, yet up to the Revolutionary War Virginia alone raised nearly or quite as much as all the other colonies combined. It continued to be the one important product grown along the numerous streams, and was collected by boats. When prices were not at their lowest, the proceeds were enough to pay for their English-made clothing and furniture, and life was comfortable.

Wheat and fruit were considerable products in the rich soil of the mountain valleys. The Blue Ridge furnished abundant fur. Some of the planters became wealthy. Horses were carefully bred and were a special pride of the people, as well as an element of considerable property value. As in the Carolinas, the tax-collector was of small terror to a large proportion of the widely scattered, independence-loving people. Manufacture was little developed, even of the household sort, and there was not even one considerable town to offer advantage to a large enterprise. As in the case of Virginia, so in that of the other Southern Colonies, the profits of agriculture enriched a very few persons, and most of the poorer planters were continually in debt to those few. Still it was only by comparatively slow degrees that other crops gained a satisfactory footing, especially in the great tobacco valley of Virginia.

Jamestown was not yet four years old before the promoters of that colony began to tell Englishmen of the native growth of a sort of wild flax or hemp of which much was expected in profitable production. Then came the tobacco craze, and flax and all other things except tobacco became as nothing for the time being. Later on, unsuccessful efforts were made in both Virginia and Maryland to turn the practical attention of planters to its cultivation. In the meantime, as recorded in an earlier division of this narrative, some success was attained in New England and flax was a considerable source of cloth-supply.

Early in the eighteenth century, as noted in the preceding tobacco records, the attention of southern colonists was forcibly turned to the production of flax. As the profits of tobacco-raising rallied, however, it evidently regained to a very great extent its old position, although there is evidence that Maryland continued flax production for a considerable period.

The German and Irish colonists of Pennsylvania and the Scotch-Irish settlers in New Hampshire gave to flax culture a new value, in the first quarter of the century, by improved methods in its production and treatment. Its progress is indicated by the fact that at the middle of the century Pennsylvania was exporting seventy thousand bushels of flaxseed per year, and the further fact that the fiber of the plants which bore the seed was all made into linen cloth, or, with wool, woven into linsey-woolsey for colonial clothing. The improvements

begun in New Hampshire, spread throughout New England, increasing both cloth and flax production. In New York, however, only ten years before the Revolutionary War, the farmers had not learned how to raise hemp or to prepare it for market, but from that date, under the stimulus of the growing spirit of independence, and of liberal bounties, they, too, became successful producers.

Among the Atlantic Colonies, South Carolina has the distinction of being the birthplace, and for several years the only home, of the im-
portant cereal, rice. Good authorities

Rice

differ by a range of ten years as to the date of its earliest cultivation. However, it seems well assured that just in the opening years of the eighteenth century, the planters of the Carolinas, who heretofore had depended largely on their fur-trade, and upon the production of pitch, tar, and turpentine as a means of support, found a new and promising source of income in the cultivation of rice. At the close of the first third of the century, it was their leading product, occupying the low districts along the coast, while their minor crops, wheat, hemp, flax, and tobacco, were grown farther inland, and numerous flocks and herds of farm animals grazed the unoccupied lands.

By the middle of the century, the more successful of the rice planters were becoming rivals of the wealthy sugar planters of the West Indies and of the tobacco kings of Virginia. Their children were sent to England to be educated, and the luxuries of that period appeared in their homes. England granted to rice special transport privileges, and the

royal land tax was not rigorously exacted. Agricultural profits were so large that mechanics turned from the shop to the soil, and merchants left the risks of the sea to grow rice and indigo, which latter product was then coming into great promise. The tobacco craze of early Virginia was re-enacted on the rice levels of the Carolinas.

Among the French colonists in Louisiana, during the same period, rice was also winning its way into a leading position, with supplemental crops of indigo, tobacco, figs, oranges, and bayberry wax, while the French Canadian settlers of the "Illinois Country," as already told, sent down the Mississippi supplies of flour and of other northern products.

The seventeenth century echoed with the names of many plants whose names died out as echoes die.

Indigo Among them were madder, woad, and indigo, important dye products of the Old World. That which lingered longest in the records was indigo. Even as far north as Albany and New York, just at the middle of that century, its cultivation was attempted, and *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, published about that time, says that it throve so well that they "hoped to gain the trade of it from the Great Mogul, and to supply all Christendom," but such hope was long in coming to fruition, and when it came, Virginia did not share its profits.

Shortly after the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Louisiana history tells of the export of indigo, and the records say that its cultivation there began ten years earlier. Among the Atlantic Colonies, however, where its largest success

was scored, it was only an empty faith, foiled by many failures until ten years before the middle of the century, when a plucky South Carolina girl, only seventeen years of age, solved the problem. Her father, Mr. Lucas, sent some of the seed from one of the West India Islands (Antigua) where it was cultivated, together with seeds of cotton, ginger, lucerne, etc. After one or two experiments, she succeeded; and Charleston soon began to send the product to England. Miss Lucas was married, and her enterprising husband not long afterwards proved that the native plant, which a century before had raised such great hope, was better than either the West Indian, or the Central American variety.

Its successful cultivation was not difficult. The extraction of the coloring matter required skill and care, yet twenty-five Negroes could raise and prepare for market the product of fifty acres and, besides, provide their own living and that of the planter's family. As the average product of an acre is reported to have been fifty pounds, and the price more than a half-dollar per pound, it is readily understood that the production was profitable.

Great Britain gave indigo special trade advantages, and so rapid and steady was its progress that it soon advanced to second place in the Carolinas and Georgia, rice only taking higher rank; and just preceding the War of Revolution, the annual export was over a million pounds, at a value of over a half-million dollars.

The fourth successful agricultural product of the Southern Colonies came upon the stage of action

just before the Declaration of Independence. Tobacco had occupied the arena for a hundred and fifty years. Rice was about closing its
Cotton first half-century, and indigo, whose existence was doomed by the coming of cotton, had thrived but half that period.

The early records of cotton are not definite. Explorers of the Mississippi valley in the first half of the sixteenth century, seventy years before Jamestown was settled, reported its growth in that region. Like indigo, it was a child of promise from the first settlement of the Southern Colonies. A *Declaration of the State of Virginia*, published when Jamestown was only a dozen years of age, just as the Pilgrims were landing at Plymouth, says: "cottonwooll and sugar canes . . . may be had there in abundance with an infinity of othermore," and yet a hundred years later it was merely an ornamental garden plant in the Southern and Middle Colonies. Certain records show an export of a few bags of cotton from Charleston, S. C., two years before the middle of the eighteenth century; but it is not clear that it was grown in America. A hundred years earlier New England was importing cotton for manufacture, and this Charleston export may have been an unused import, sent to Europe to save total loss.

There is evidence, however, that during the second half of the eighteenth century, a few southern planters were raising small quantities of cotton at a profit, and France was suggesting its cultivation in Louisiana. Small quantities were exported to England, and the production may rightly be said

to have gained a footing among colonial products as the War of Revolution sounded its call to arms.

In the seventeenth century, New England was potatoless. Not that potatoes were wholly unknown: Some of the seaport towns had an import knowledge of the tu- Potatoesbers, for the Bermudas sent them at least a few, and early in the eighteenth century the Harvard graduates had their first taste of them at a commencement dinner. Near the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Scotch-Irish settlers at Londonderry, N. H., coming from Ireland, where potatoes were a common vegetable, grew them in their New World home. The cultivation soon spread throughout the Northern Colonies, although the cultivators of the first crop at Haverhill, Mass., cooked the balls (seed-pods) instead of the tubers.

From Eden's *First Books on America* is taken the following interesting description: "They dygge also owte of the ground certeyne rootes growynge of them selues, whiche they call Botates. . . . The skyn is sumwhat towgher than Eyther of nanies or mussheroms, and of earthy coloure: But the inner meate thereof is very whyte."

To indicate the knowledge and use of potatoes in England as late as five years before our War of Revolution, it may be stated that in the most important English work on gardening, only two varieties of potatoes are noted, and they were considered as food for cattle and hogs.

Four thousand years ago, so goes the story, the shrewd and cunning Chinese people found out how

to unwind the silken strands which the silkworm spins to form its transformation tent, and newly interlink them into "webs of woven air."

Silk

While they sold these silken fabrics freely to other nations, for many centuries they kept the secret of their making.

Some sixteen hundred years ago, near the beginning of the fourth century, the Japanese induced four Chinese girls to teach the art in Japan. Gradually other nations learned it too, and when Jamestown was only two years old, King James I. shipped silkworm "seed" (eggs) for the Virginia colonists, but the vessel was shipwrecked. Ten years later, he tried again,—“For the settinge vp of which commodite, his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to bestow upon the Company plenty of silkworm-seed, of his own store, being the best.”

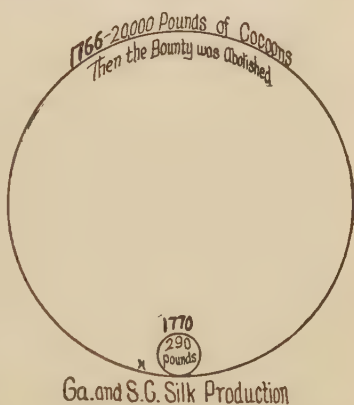
This second attempt was also doomed to wreck. It was made when the whole colony was tobacco-mad. Premiums and bounties were offered for silk-production, and fines imposed for not planting mulberry trees, but all without avail. A few families raised some cocoons, and as the years went on, the industry, stimulated by bounties and fines, took feeble root in some of the younger colonies. Its largest success was made in Georgia, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania. Influential men, including Benjamin Franklin, gave it much personal attention.

Colonial records state that Gen. Oglethorpe took Georgia silk to England, of which was made a dress for Queen Caroline, that she wore on the King's birthday. In South Carolina and in Pennsylvania,

silk-raising was a fashionable occupation among women: Mrs. Pinckney took silk to England, of which royal robes were made. One of these robes was presented to the Princess of Wales, and one to Lord Chesterfield, while a third was held as an elegant heirloom in the Pinckney family. A Quakeress, Susannah Wright, of Pennsylvania, raised, spun, and wove silk, some of which furnished a Court dress for Queen Charlotte. Under large bounties by England, the production of cocoons was considerable, as noted in the perspective at the close of this chapter. The withdrawal of those bounties seriously checked the product, and the Revolutionary War practically closed the experiment in the South.

It was in Connecticut, however, that silk-raising made not its largest, but its firmest growth. Gov-

ernor Law wore the first coat and stockings made of New England silk, and his daughter the first dress. That the industry did not wholly die out during the distraction of the Revolutionary War is due to the nearly forty years of persistent scientific experiment of President Styles of Yale College, beginning in 1758, and seconded by Dr. Nathaniel Aspinwall, who started a durable silk industry at Mansfield, Conn., that was already making encouraging progress at the beginning of the War of



Revolution, thus opening the way for the splendid twentieth century silk industry of the United States.

The seventy-five years under review in this division of the narrative also mark the early use of clover and timothy by some of the more **Miscellany** advanced farmers in Massachusetts, and include the offer of premiums for the drainage of marshes, showing that real progress was taking root. Oats had become a general product for horse feeding. Hops were successfully grown. In New York and New Jersey, barley was a considerable crop, and Wethersfield, Conn., had already started on its famous career as a producer of onions. In Louisiana, sugar-making had already become of some importance.

The distribution of land was variously practised in the different colonies. Its abuse in New York by granting immense tracts to "patroons" laid the foundation of a landed aristocracy that retarded settlement and degraded agricultural labor by the employment of an inferior class of laborers. In Connecticut, the power of grant was to certain specified proprietors, in place of the former method of granting by town vote. In New Hampshire, the people were given possession of improved lands, and the unimproved reverted to the Crown.

The rearing of farm animals became an industry of vital importance. The patient, plodding ox was to the New England colonist what the power of steam is to modern industry. During its working years, it plowed the farmer's fields and hauled his heavy loads. In the lumber camp, it moved the great

logs to the mill stream, and when the tall pine giants were felled for export to Europe to make great ship-masts, monstrous teams of one and even two hundred oxen, managed by more than a score of skilled drivers, hauled these mighty tree-trunks to the ocean-side. Then when their working years were done, a little rest and generous feed changed the toughened muscles to good, juicy beef, furnishing new power to human life.

In some New England towns, the practice still continued of pasturing the sheep upon public lands, under the care of town-appointed shepherds, while in the South they grazed a scanty living on the mountain footlands, as did the numerous herds of cattle that grew lean and thin until they were sold into Pennsylvania to be fattened for their final market. In the Southern and Middle Colonies, horses also wandered in wild troops, sometimes doing serious damage to the growing crops.

Wastefulness was sometimes charged to American colonial agriculturists by European critics, for the frontiersman has ever borne the charge. Yet if to put new lands in cultivation gave better financial returns than to fertilize the older lands, the frontiersman has been doing only what his critic does: attaining desired results at the greatest advantage.

At any rate, wasteful or not wasteful (according to the definition), they were already keenly studying better methods, and were so far producing more than enough for their own use as to be able to give large addition to the food-supply of England. As Mr. Burke reminded them in the year marking our Declaration of Independence: "For some time past

the Old World has been fed from the New. The scarcity you have felt would have been a desolating famine, if this child of your old age, with a true filial piety, with a Roman charity, had not put the full breast of its youthful exuberance to the mouth of its exhausted parent."

To indicate further how all-absorbing were the agricultural interests of that important development, it is pertinent to note that during the half-century preceding the War of Revolution, the graduating theses at Harvard were repeatedly given to a comparison of agriculture and commerce, with an invariable verdict in favor of the farmer.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.—AGRICULTURE—1698-1744

NOTE.—Dates in parentheses refer to other entries on the same subject.

NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.

- 1699-1709, Va. and Md.—Records refer to the distress from low price of tobacco (1705).
 1704, N. C.—Rice a considerable product (1733).
 1705, Va.—Special inducements to attract new residents. A few tobacco planters, perhaps 80 or 100, had become wealthy (1699, 1710).
 1708, Mass.—Potatoes first served at a Harvard commencement dinner. [Records show that Bermuda potatoes were shipped to New Eng. in 1636] (1719).
 1710, N. C.—Tobacco, corn, and cattle, ordinary products (1699, 1720).—Conn.—Cultivation of onions begun at Wethersfield.
 1713-45, New Eng.—Wheat cultivation declining; supplies came from N. Y. and S. colonies. Indian corn was the staple food product of all colonies.
 1714, Conn.—"Whereas we formerly granted our lands to perticqler persons by a town voat" it was thereafter done by "the proprietors of Colchester."
 1718, La.—Indigo introduced and ten years later was exported (1741).
 1719, N. H.—Potatoes introduced (1708, 1727). Improvements in flax growing (1728).
 Early Part of the 18th Century, Carolinas.—Rice the ground of prosperity. Fur-trade good. Lumber, turpentine, and tar were ordinary products.
 1720 (about), La.—Tobacco was the principal product, some grown as early as 1718. (1699, 1732.)
 1721, Mass.—A village of 40 families makes 3000 bbl. of cider. Hops exported to Philadelphia.
 1723, Md.—Shooting of horses breaking into enclosures authorized, because of "the extravagant multitude of useless horses that run in the woods."
 1st Quar. of 18th Century, Md.—Like Virginia, no considerable town.
 1727, N. H.—Scotch-Irish, at Londonderry, introduce the potato (1708).
 1728, R. I.—Bounties for flax growing (1719, 1729).
 1729, Pa.—Flaxseed exported, 1785 bushels. In 1752, 70,000 bushels, and the flax made into clothing (1719, 1730).
 1730, Pa.—An act to encourage hemp growing (1719, 1731).
 1731, Md.—Over 60 wagon-loads of flaxseed marketed in Baltimore (1719, 1737).

- 1732, Va.—Colonists published a statement of grievances on the tobacco industry (1699, 1743).—Conn.—Silk produced (1734).
- 1733, S. C.—Chief products, rice and indigo, near the coast. Interior, wheat, hemp, flax, tobacco, swine, cattle, and sheep (1719, 1743).—Conn.—Windsor divided its sheep into 3 flocks, assigned pastures, hired shepherds, etc., by the committee for "ordering the prudentials."
- 1734, Ga.—Oglethorpe takes 8 lb. of silk to England (1732, 1747).
- 1736, Md.—Cotton grown as a garden plant, and southward (1753).
- 1737, Conn.—So general was flax and hemp growing, that they were accepted for taxes at 6 pence and 4 pence a pound respectively (1719, 1765).
- 1741, S. C.—Indigo crop, 100,000 pounds (1718, 1747).—Ga.—All expectations from wine, olives, barilla, kali, hemp, flax, and indigo were dead. Rice by white labor a failure, financially. Cotton a garden plant.
- 1743-57, La.—Tobacco a principal product (1699). Rice a principal product (1710, 1748).
- 1745-62, Conn.—Jared Eliot operates his English "horse-hoe" with oxen.—New Eng.—Garden stuff generally raised by women.
- 1747, Conn.—Gov. Law wears the 1st coat and stockings of New Eng. silk (1732, 1749).—Carolina exports indigo to England (1718, 1748).—N. Y.—"Large fields" of barley near N. Y. city, a little near Albany.
- 1748, S. C.—Indigo profitable, next to rice (1718, 1756). Rice very profitable (1710).
- 1749, Ga.—1000 lb. of silk cocoons were raised, reeled, and sent to London (1732, 1750).
- 1750, Conn.—Gov. Law's daughter wears the 1st dress of New Eng. silk (1732, 1752).—England grants 600,000,000 acres in the N. Ohio valley to a promotion company.—First exploration of lands, west of the Alleghanies.
- 1751, La.—Appeals for food made to France.—Sugar cane introduced.
- 1752, Ga.—After all other expectations had failed, hope of silk still remained (1732, 1755). Slave-labor brings prosperity.
- 1753, Pa.—Premiums offered for draining marshes and for raising clover.
- 1753 and 57, S. C.—"Some cotton" exported (1736, 1760).
- 1755, S. C.—Mrs. Pinckney takes silk for three dresses to England (1732, 1758).
- 1756, S. C. and N. C.—500,000 pounds of indigo produced (1718, 1770).
- 1757, Mass.—Clover seed on sale in Boston. Probably not in general use until after the Revolutionary War.
- 1758, Conn.—Pres. Styles of Yale Coll. began 40 years of experiments in silk-raising.—R. I.—Silk cultivated (1732, 1759).
- 1759, New Eng.—The use of hotbeds mentioned.
- 1759-67, La.—Nearly 100,000 lb. of silk cocoons raised (1732, 1762).
- 1760, France.—Louisiana advised to grow cotton (1736, 1762).
- 1762.—Corn planted on new wood land without plowing.—Eng.—"What Cotton and Silk both the Carolinas send us is excellent, and calls aloud for encouragement" (1736, 1770) (1732, 1766).
- 1763-72, Pa.—The Wyoming valley opened to agriculture from both Conn. and Pa.
- 1764, N. Y.—Society organized for the promotion of "Arts, Agriculture, and Economy."
- 1765, N. J.—Bounties for flax growing (1719).
- 1766, Conn.—A half-ounce of mulberry seed sent into each parish.—English silk bounties discontinued and silk production in Ga. declined from 20,000 lb. to 290 lb. in four years (1732, 1769).
- 1769, Eng.—Silk bounties again offered, not effective.—Mass.—Personal prizes for largest silk production (1732, 1770).—Daniel Boone first visits Kentucky.
- 1770, Va.—Agricultural invasion of Tennessee begins.—Pa.—Susannah Wright takes silk of her own growing, spinning, and weaving to England (1732).
- 1770 (about).—Southern planters begin serious efforts to raise cotton profitably (1736).
- 1770-75.—Annual indigo crop about 1,000,000 pounds (1718).
- 1771, Mass.—Timothy (herdsgrass) coming into use.
- 1774, N. C., S. C., and Ga.—Many half-wild cattle were sold to Pennsylvania dealers and by them fattened for market.

CHAPTER III

COLONIAL MANUFACTURE

1698-1774

OF immeasurable importance to the world's future food-supply was the great agricultural experiment of the American colonies in the eighteenth century. Of just as large value to the astounding industrial development of the American Nation was the sanguinary struggle of manufacture and commerce in the same period.

Unknown to themselves, the colonists were solving the problem which at the opening of the twentieth century places the United States in the front rank of the world-powers both in manufacture and in trade.

The conflict with the mother-country over each step of progress, from mere gathering of natural products to the highly developed manufacture of those products was a conflict of inborn right. The child had come to that place where the right to a home and a being of its own grew strong. With each opposing act, the sense of right grew stronger still.

While the laws of England against manufacture produced discontent and apprehension in the colonies, they were ineffective in staying its progress.

Iron forges and furnaces were increased as fast as the demand of the population coupled with the certainty of profit opened the opportunity. The many spinning-wheels and looms in the colonial homes kept right on producing their accustomed skeins of yarn and yards of cloth. Each fulling-mill kept up its accustomed product. Every hatter kept right on making hats and selling them wherever he could find a customer. Tanners kept right on filling and emptying their tan-vats, just as though England had never spoken. Every blacksmith kept right on at his ringing anvil, and every shoemaker at his busy bench, as though there were no English Parliament. Shipbuilders continued to lay new keels at the demand of an ocean commerce which either evaded or defied the laws intended to hamper the carrying industry of the colonies.

More than this, every year added to the number of persons employed in these and other manufacturing enterprises, and every Act of Parliament spurred the latent growth of the spirit of industrial independence.

The English attitude toward colonial manufacture should be clearly, fairly judged. English statesmen were awake to the fact that English colonies in America, taken as a whole, were rapidly overtaking the parent nation in point of numbers, as is strikingly shown in the chapters on population. They were also keenly suspicious that industrial progress in all departments compared favorably with that of the parent nation. These two important facts must be coupled with a third, namely: England was fighting for the

**English
Attitude**

rights of her home people, just as she has ever done and is doing to-day; just as every civilized nation is doing, has ever done, and, it is to be hoped, will ever do.

Development was fast coming to the point of deciding the question of industrial sovereignty, and the eighteenth century unfolded the determining years. The war of industrial supremacy was sturdily waged on land and sea, during all of the one hundred and twenty-nine years between England's first hampering law and sanguinary Bunker Hill. Victory fell almost continually to the colonists; and it was only when there was no other resort, that the appeal to arms was to be made to terminate the strife and to seize the final triumph.

English knowledge of colonial facts was not clear and definite. Instead, it was vague, unsatisfying and indeterminate, for, try as they might, English officials in colonial chairs were hampered by the fact that the colonists were not friendly to answering questions that seemed to them to be officious meddling with personal affairs. Hence the reports of these English colonial officers, sent to their superiors, three thousand miles away, were characterized by much guesswork. Add to this the fact that some of these English officers were in hearty sympathy with the earnest efforts of the colonists to supply their own needs, and the further fact that most of them were dependent upon the colonists for their official salaries, and therefore closely watched by those who voted them those salaries, and the reasons are apparent why the knowledge that reached across the sea

was vague. Enough information, however, went across to rouse the English mind to fear a rivalry that in the end would rob the parent of the gain that so strong a child, kept in well-directed servitude, would place within the parent's purse. Throughout the century from 1671 to 1781, the revenues of English families owning lands in America grew amazingly. As both Burke and Pitt said, these private revenues enriched all the nation and were vastly greater than any public revenues from taxes could possibly be.

One other consideration must be taken into this accounting. English expenditures, civil and military, to maintain the general colonial administration, were considerable. Eng-
lishmen believed these expenditures were
of much advantage to the colonists. They further believed that the colonists were abundantly able to balance the account, for they knew the colonies had made large expenditures of their own in military conflicts on land and sea; and before the eyes of visiting British officers ostentatious displays of plate, furniture, and other articles of wealth were made by the more opulent colonists. Therefore Englishmen in Parliament thought it only fair to call upon the colonies to repay, in part at least, the English colonial expenses. Hence, taxes were laid with the double purpose of putting colonial money into the English treasury, and of protecting English industry.

English
Belief

The other side of the picture is strikingly different. The large expenditures made by the colonists to carry on their military operations were in the main

provided by sharp personal sacrifices of the many relatively poor colonists. When England cut off colonial trade with Spain, France, and other European countries, she cut off nearly the whole money-income of the colonies. When she forbade the colonies to engage in any but the first processes of manufacture, she deprived the colonists of profitable employment.

**Colonial
Views**

Surely, no man may say that England had not a perfect right, that it was not her duty, to protect her own people in their merchandizing and manufacturing, and thereby in their agriculture, by thus providing a home market for agricultural products; but that right raised a very pertinent question. If the English colonies were a part of the English people, and therefore subject to English taxation, then whatever protection was provided should also protect colonial manufacture; whatever taxation was applied should put money in colonial treasuries. Their rights were as important to them as were the rights of those Englishmen whose homes were in the British islands. If the colonists were not a part of the English people, then they should not be bound by English laws. If they were a part, they should have English protection in full and just measure. Such in brief are the two views of the industrial conflict between England and her colonies, preceding colonial independence.

Before entering upon a detailed history of the larger branches of manufacture, it is pertinent to say that the chief object of the various industrial narratives in all the volumes of this history is to direct attention to results. Most of the dates are given in the perspectives so that the account may

move forward the more directly to the record of accomplishment. Dates often vary considerably even with good authorities, and at most their only value is to keep progress in approximately relative lines. Whether iron was first manufactured in 1622 is not the important thing. That iron manufacture finally became a practical success is the one fact of predominant value. To know approximately when and where, for the sake of intelligent correlation with other important progress, is of real historical value. That information the narratives carry, as a valuable part of the chief record,—that of accomplishment.

**Object of the
Narratives**

The perspectives are provided for the use of students of chronology, and to satisfy the occasional desire of the general reader more definitely to locate the occurrence of some individual event. They have also the additional value of carrying in compact form many little side lights, which because of lack of room are crowded out of the general text.

Mere unsuccessful experiments at manufacture, records of ineffective bounties, grants, monopolies, etc., are in many cases wholly omitted. Even among successes, especially of rapidly expanding industries, only representative records are included. To include all would require scores of volumes.

CHAPTER IV

IRON, STEEL, AND MINOR METALS

1698-1774

It is difficult to understand the scarcity of iron utensils in the colonies at the opening of the eighteenth century. Inventories of estates and wills of even wealthy persons specially indicate this. One or two iron pots, evidently the whole supply, bequeathed to some favorite member of the family; the exclusive use of a wrought-iron tea-kettle, and other similar entries make a significant record. Even in England, the supply was almost equally limited, and thirty years later only a half-dozen "furnaces" for casting hollow ware were in operation in all New England, and only one establishment for the manufacture of nails.

An earlier division of this narrative contains a little sketch map showing the home of colonial iron production at the close of the seventeenth century. It was a small home located at the almost extreme north end of the narrow strip of Atlantic coast occupied by the colonies at that period. From that date forward, its expansion has been typical of the expansion of the nation, which

even then, in its nascent stage, was imbued with those vital forces which have carried it victoriously forward, overcoming opposition, outriding disaster, silently, quietly gaining new strength with every struggle toward its present crowning position. A map showing iron production at the close of the period from 1698 to 1774 would include a large portion of the settled area, reaching down with graphic culmination into the great tobacco colonies of Virginia and Maryland.

So rapid was the progress that well before the middle of the eighteenth century, New England had greatly increased its production, and numerous iron-works were successfully operated in Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. It will be helpful to keep in mind that this expansion was accomplished in spite of the fact that up to the middle of the century the colonies were practically excluded from the English iron market by very high protective duties on all forms of iron products.

Fifteen years before the middle of the century, a most significant series of entries was made in the records of several of the British navy yards. It appears that one Mrs. Crowley (whether a fictitious or a real person does not appear) received six tons of American bar-iron of various sorts, and that by an order of the House of Commons this iron was distributed in one-ton lots to several navy yards for official tests. Woolwich was first to report, as follows:

Tested

“We have recently received from His Majesty’s yard at Deptford, barr-iron flats of two and a quarter inches broad,

and half an inch thick—15 cwt. 0 qrs. 4 lbs., squares of seven eighths of an inch—5 cwt. 0 qrs. 12 lbs., imported by mrs Crowley from America; and, pursuant to your warrant of the 11th July, 1735, have made sufficient tryal of each of the sorts, find the said iron to be very good, and fit for His Majesty's service; superior, in every respect, to Sweed's Iron, and, in our opinion, worth £17 10s. 6d. per ton."

With one exception, the other five reports substantially corroborated the Woolwich statement. The exceptional lot was brittle.

Read "between the lines," these reports declared to any intelligent Englishman that the colonies had already passed the stage of the manufacture of mere "raw material" and that the next higher processes of manufacture in the iron industry were in successful operation. Not only that, they just as clearly declared that the colonial home market was already well supplied, and a surplus was about to seek foreign markets. Yet it was two years before a bill appeared in Parliament proposing to take any action.

At this period, England was importing from Sweden and Russia twenty thousand tons of pig-
and bar-iron per year, fully half of all
Proposed she consumed in the more advanced
Action processes of manufacture. Even at that
time, England's supply of wood was diminishing,
and coal had not come into use for the manufacture
of iron. The high price of wood made the cost of
crude iron too high for profitable production except
in favorable localities. This proposed Parliamentary
Act, already at least two years behind time, pro-
vided that a duty should be laid on all bar-iron

brought into England except that from America, and that American iron should enter free. Opposition on the part of English manufacturers defeated the measure, and thirteen years passed before any action was taken. In the meantime, the colonies were marching rapidly forward. The perspective at the close of this portion of this chapter gives sufficient data to indicate that progress, in an emphatic manner.

Virginia and Maryland were already exporting from two thousand to three thousand tons of crude iron per year. Effective encouragement in several colonies, by way of bounties, land grants, and exemptions from taxation hastened the progress. In New England, the higher forms of manufacture were developing, as shown by the establishing of foundries for casting hollow ware, the opening of slitting-mills, and the operation of the trip-hammer. Therefore, most of New England pig-iron was consumed at home in the operations of these higher processes, and little was left for export. That is: New England was already making many articles of ironware for her own people, instead of sending the crude pig-iron to England for Englishmen to manufacture and to return for New Englanders to buy of England for use in their homes, and in their various other industries. In Pennsylvania, among other iron products the earliest forms of stoves were made, and the proprietors of iron-works were already struggling with the liquor question, as related to successful manufacture. About the middle of the century, the substitution of sand for clay in making iron-moulds was introduced.

Progress

At this stage, Englishmen began to wake up, and a bill was again presented in Parliament, of the same purport as the one defeated thirteen years before. The intent of the bill was to change the English import of crude iron from Swedish and Russian to American. That would greatly encourage the production of pig-iron in America, because the import duties were to be removed so that American pig-iron could enter English ports free. There was also a provision for aiding the production of American bar-iron, so far as free entry at the port of London would be an aid. Had not the Northern and Middle Colonies already gone beyond the manufacture of pig-iron and bar-iron, those two provisions might have been helpful to England. It might have retarded progress in the colonies by giving them an open market in England for the cruder forms. Under the actual conditions, the bill was more than twenty years behind time, at the lowest estimate, and taking account of colonial enterprise, it was a full half-century out of date.

It never was in the spirit of New England to do things by halves. If there was any good reason for producing pig-iron, there was a still better reason for the more advanced forms of manufacture, for those gave larger employment and added profit, and furnished a large home demand for farm products.

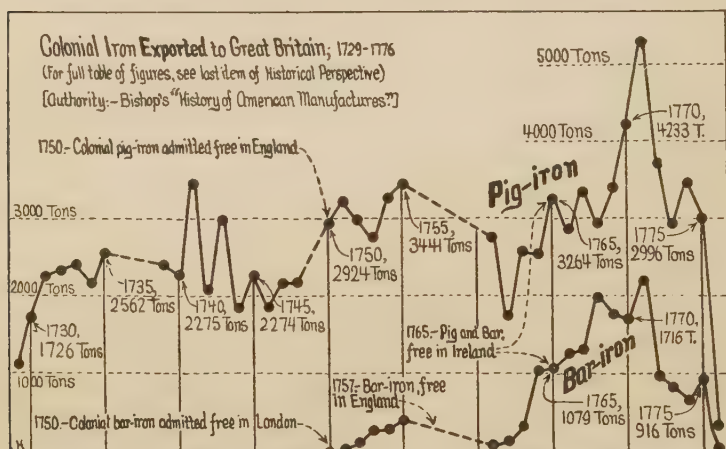
That, however, is only a part of the story. Some English statesmen had clearly "read between the lines," and they well knew that more decisive action must be undertaken. The colonists were too intelligent to send pig-iron three thousand miles to

have it cast into pots and kettles, or made into nails and tools, to be used in the homes of those who had taken the iron from the bog or mine and made it into pigs. England, therefore, said to the colonists in that same bill: "That from and after the 24th day of June, 1750, no mill, or other engine (machine), for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel, shall be erected, or after such erection, continued in any of His Majesty's colonies of America" under a penalty of £200.

That the Act, when passed, was already out of date is clearly shown by the first report following it, made by the governors of the colonies, as ordered by the English authorities. According to that report, Massachusetts had already in operation two slitting- and rolling-mills, and Pennsylvania, one. Of plating forges to work with a tilt-hammer: Massachusetts had one; Connecticut, six; New York, one; Pennsylvania, one; and Maryland, one with two hammers. Of steel furnaces, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey each had one, and Pennsylvania, two.

A clause in the Act provided for closing all these mills, but that aroused so strong opposition that it was lost by a small majority. The colonists were therefore permitted to make such bar-iron and such steel as the mills already built could produce, but they must not erect any more such mills. Progress must cease. Under the provision for the free entry of bar-iron into London, a small export began, as appears in the diagram on page 334. Seven years later it was given free entry to all parts

of England, but it was not until nearly fifteen years had passed that the export was of much importance. By that time new mills were building and it is probable the old ones were enlarged. At any rate it appears the colonies had a surplus, and England was glad to take it. Progress was rapid in other sorts of iron manufacture. Many new mines were opened, and the product of pig-iron much increased, but not much more was sent to



England after 1750 than before, except for three years, as the diagram clearly shows. It is plainly evident the colonists were rapidly increasing the higher processes of manufacture to supply their own needs.

All of this widely diversified experience was laying a broad foundation. The perspective, already referred to, carries the records of the **Diversity** erection of many iron-works for advanced processes of manufacture (even including several of the prohibited classes) during the quarter

of a century between the prohibitive law and the Revolutionary War. Each of these broadened the scope of manufacture, and aided in preparing the iron industry for the demand of vital importance made upon it during the final arbitration of the cannon, the sword, and the bayonet.

While many of the more important processes show steady progress, the manufacture of large nails and spikes remained substantially a household art until after the Revolutionary War. The fireside anvil rang out its steady *ping, pong, ping*, on many a stormy day, with its hammer, wielded by the sturdy farmer or a trusted son, gradually "eating up" the imported (or mayhap a colonial-made) nail-rod, heated at the family fireplace, making wrought nails for choice and careful future use. The smaller nails were chiefly imported.

"Jamb stoves" had come somewhat into use, their manufacture having begun in Pennsylvania. These stoves appear to have been long boxes of iron, set into the masonry of the chimney with a smoke flue leading from an opening in the box. Their advantage was that the back end, extending into an adjoining room, gave off a little heat in that room, in response to a rousing fire in the box, fed from the kitchen end. In the third quarter of the century, the "Franklin" open stove, or "newly invented Pennsylvania Fireplace" also appears to have come into limited use.

Stoves

Looking backward along the vista opened by the Declaration of Independence, all other advanced processes of iron and steel manufacture are dwarfed in importance by one that was almost without

record. It is only by studying the business side of the War of the Revolution, that one becomes impressed with the resources already at
Firearms call in the colonies to manufacture firearms. Of course, we know that many of the colonists had rifles. Especially was this true of the frontier; but there was now a considerable portion of the colonial area that had ceased to be frontier. There were many towns where the people had almost lost touch with firearms. Indian troubles were now mainly of the frontier lines. Many thrifty farmers even (to say nothing of the townspeople) had long left the old "Queens-arm" hanging in its stiffened leather straps, except as, on a holiday "hunting trip" or some anniversary, it was taken out to awaken new echoes and to reawaken old memories with a few "old-fashioned shots."

When the war actually came, many muskets were urgently in need. Where could they be had? Each colony had its own imperative demand, and, remarkable as it may seem, almost every colony found men so skilled in the art of manufacture that supplies were promptly furnished. Not instantly, but as the development of the need made earnest call, the demand was met, or at least partly met with muskets made by colonial artisans. So also of the larger arms;—the field artillery and the naval armament. In 1741, one Deichert, a German in Pennsylvania, invented the rifle, that wonderfully compact, close-firing, long-range weapon of the pioneers and woodsmen.

The story of this notable accomplishment belongs in a later division of this narrative. It is pertinent,

however, to recall the fact that in the Indian trade (which has had no vacation in its whole three hundred years) each colony had men who found it of greater advantage to make at home the arms that were freely sold to Indians, rather than to import them from European factories at a higher price than "home-made" cost. So when the issue came, the musket-makers were already on the ground, unheralded, but skilled by home-grown competition to supply the call.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—IRON AND STEEL, 1698-1774

[NOTE.—The items in each perspective are representative, not exhaustive.]

- 1702, Mass.—Iron furnace at Scituate.
 1710, Mass.—A slitting-mill at Dorchester.
 1713, Va.—Manufacture of iron revived. Earliest record of permanent production, 1715.
 1718, Phila.—"Our expectations from the iron-works, forty miles up the Schuylkill, are very great."—Pa.—Iron-works in Chester Co.
 1719, Eng.—"None in the plantations should manufacture iron wares of any kind out of any sows, pigs or bars whatsoever."—Md.—Land grants for iron manufacture resulted in actual manufacture.
 1719-49, Md.—Eight furnaces and nine forges, some of them named among items following.
 1720 (about), Pa.—Coventry and Monatawnoy forges.
 1720-30, Del.—Iron-works in New Castle Co.
 1721, New Eng.—Six furnaces and nineteen forges. In Pa. iron production greater.
 1722, Mass.—Iron-works at Bridgewater.
 1723, Pa.—Owners of iron-works in Pennsylvania petitioned the Assembly to prohibit the sale of liquor (except cider or beer) near their works.
 1724, Va.—At Spotswood "A regular furnace" in operation.
 1725, Va.—Pine forge (Shenandoah Co.) built.
 1728, Conn.—A ten-year patent granted, giving the exclusive right of the manufacture of steel.
 1730, Mass.—Iron-works at Plympton.
 1731, New Eng.—Nineteen forges for bar-iron, six furnaces for hollow castings, one slitting-mill, one manufactory of nails. Within the next sixteen or eighteen years, refineries were in operation.
 1731-74.—Md. and Va. Export to England 2000 to 3000 tons of pig-iron per year.
 1731, Pa.—Green Lane forge.
 1734, Conn.—Furnace at Limerock.
 1735, Eng.—American iron tested in British navy yards. (Report: Excellent.)—R. I.—Furnace and foundry in Scituate township.
 1736, Pa.—Warwick iron furnace on French creek.
 1737, Pa.—Reading's furnace on French creek.
 1738, Mass.—Trip-hammer at Bridgewater.

- 1730, Mass.—Two hundred acres of land granted to promote iron manufacture.
- 1739-55.—The change from clay to sand molds in iron-casting seems to have occurred about the middle of the 18th century.
- 1740, N. Y.—American iron-works in operation. Parts of firearms manufactured at Albany.
- 1741, Conn.—Furnace in Lyme township.—R. I.—Iron-works on the South Branch of the Pawtuxet.
- 1742, Pa.—Cornwall Furnace (Lebanon Co).
- 1743, N. J.—Iron furnace at Oxford.—Pa.—Durham furnace.—N. J.—Bloomery forge at Troy.
- 1744, Pa.—Franklin's account of the "Franklin Stove."
- 1745, N. Y.—Plating forge at Wawayanda.—Pa.—Windsor forge. Colebrookdale iron blast furnace. Hopewell forge.
- 1746, Pa.—Rolling- and slitting-mill in Thornbury township, Chester Co.
- 1748, Va.—All persons employed in producing iron exempt from tax for seven years.—Mass.—Five hundred muskets manufactured for the colony at Bridgewater.—N. H.—Forge at Rumford.
- 1750, Eng.—Colonial pig-iron admitted free in England. Colonial bar-iron admitted free in London. The erection of new rolling- or slitting-mills, tilt-hammers, or steel furnaces forbidden in the colonies.—N. Y.—Plating forge with tilt-hammer at Wawayanda.—Mass.—Two slitting-mills in Middleboro, one in Hanover, one in Milton. Massachusetts had also one plating forge, with tilt-hammer, and one steel furnace.—Conn.—Steel furnace at Killingworth.—Pa.—Glasgow forge. Speedwell forge. Plating forge and two steel furnaces in Philadelphia Co.
- 1751, N. Y.—Blast furnace at Sterling Pond.
- 1753, Pa.—Maria forge built.
- 1755, Phila.—Anchor forge in Front Street.—Pa.—Forge in Martic township, Lancaster Co.
- 1756, Mass.—The Charlotte furnace erected at Middleboro.
- 1756 (about), Pa.—Elizabeth furnace.
- 1757, Eng.—Colonial bar-iron admitted free in England.—Va.—Mossy creek forge built.
- 1758, N. Y.—Mountain Mine (near Sterling furnace) discovered. Most of its ore sent to England for tin-plate.
- 1760, Pa.—Pool forge (near Speedwell).—N. J.—Bloomery at Beach Glen.—Va.—Mossy creek furnace built.
- 1760-65, Mass.—First cast iron tea-kettle manufactured at Plympton (Carver). Before that, of wrought iron and imported from England.
- 1761, N. Y.—Long Mine (near Sterling furnace) opened.
- 1762, Conn.—Blast furnace, two miles east of Ore Hill.—Pa.—Manheim iron furnace.
- 1764, Conn.—Iron-works at Mine Hill.
- 1765, Eng.—Colonial pig- and bar-iron admitted free in Ireland.—Mass.—A furnace at Lenox.
- 1766, N. Y. City.—Small foundry for pots, kettles, etc.
- 1768 or 69, Pa.—First use of anthracite coal in a forge fire.
- 1769, Mass.—Slitting-mill at Dorchester.—N. J.—Iron-works at Hibernia received a colonial grant.
- 1770, N. J.—Franklin furnace built. Iron furnace near Bloomingdale.—Pa.—Oley furnace.
- 1772, Phila.—Lottery by Mr. Humphreys to aid his steel works.—Va.—Oxford forge and bloomery.
- 1773, Mass.—Tilt-hammer at Enfield. A furnace at Furnace Village, Hardwick.—N. Y.—Anchors cast at the Sterling furnace.—S. C.—Iron-works in the "upper country."—Mich.—Attempted iron mining on shores of Lake Superior.
- 1774.—American steel advertised as "Equal to German."

1776 and back to 1729.—Colonial Iron Export to Great Britain.

Year	Pig-iron (Tons)	Bar-iron (Tons)	Year	Pig-iron (Tons)	Bar-iron (Tons)	Year	Pig-iron (Tons)	Bar-iron (Tons)
1729	1127	....	1745	2274	4	1764	2554	1060
1730	1725	....	1746	1861	197	1765	3264	1079
1731	2250	....	1747	2156	82	1766	2887	1258
1732	2333	....	1748	2156	....	1767	3313	1326
1733	2405	....	1750	2024	6	1768	2953	1990
1734	2197	....	1751	3211	5	1769	3402	1780
1735	2562	55	1752	2980	81	1770	4233	1716
1739	2414	....	1753	2738	248	1771	5303	2222
1740	2275	5	1754	3245	271	1772	3725	966
1741	3457	5	1755	3441	390	1773	2938	838
1742	2075	....	1761	2766	39	1774	3452	639
1743	2985	....	1762	1767	123	1775	2996	916
1744	1862	57	1763	2566	311	1776	316	28

MINOR METALS

Just as plowing and sowing, which precede cultivation and harvesting, are agricultural occupations, so mining, which precedes the smelting and later treatment of metals, is a manufacturing occupation, and cannot consistently be separated from the succeeding operations on the same material. It is, therefore, fitting that the copper industry, much of which, in the colonial period, scarcely passed beyond the mining stage, should be considered in this chapter.

Copper

Before the Revolutionary War, this industry became of considerable importance in Connecticut and New Jersey and of noteworthy mention in some other localities. Among the earliest records is that of a copper mine opened at Simsbury, Conn., in the first decade of the century, and operated by a company composed of most of the landowners of that locality. They paid the town ten shillings for each ton of copper produced, which the town divided between Yale college and the support of an "able schoolmaster in Simsbury."

Simsbury

A contract was made with three clergymen to smelt the ores. Their scholastic attainment, including scientific knowledge, was supposed to qualify them for the business. They were not successful, however, and the mine changed hands. Although it continued in operation over half a century, yet it was scarcely a profitable undertaking. The various excavations during that fifty years of constant digging made large vaults in that old "Copper Hill," and long years afterwards, before, during, and after the Revolutionary War, the old abandoned mine was Connecticut's "Newgate" and held as prisoners many disturbing "Tories."

About ten or twelve years after the opening of the Simsbury mine in Connecticut, a Negro servant **Belleville** picked up a piece of native copper on the land of Arent Schuyler, a few miles north of Newark, New Jersey, near Belleville. Search soon discovered an abandoned mine in which were hammers and other tools indicating that it had been explored by early Dutch settlers. Evidently it had not been abandoned because of a poor quality of ore, for it proved very profitable. A few miles of transport to the Hudson river put the ore (packed in small casks, six to the ton) on ship for England, where it sold for £40 sterling per ton. It was said to yield 80% pure copper, with four ounces of pure silver to each one hundred pounds of copper. There is a tradition, that it was the richness of this ore that led England to put copper into the list of "Enumerated Articles," in order to prevent its shipment to any other country than England.

Five years before the middle of the century, the son of the original owner engaged an intelligent young English engineer to come to America to erect a pumping engine at this mine. This was the third steam engine erected in America, and was imported from England in parts, and successfully operated at this mine until after the Revolutionary War. The records state that during the first ten years of its operation, this mine produced an annual average of considerably over one hundred tons, and indicate a larger product thereafter. A copper mine was opened in E. Orange, N. J., about the close of the first third of the century and successfully operated for twenty-five years, when water accumulation compelled its abandonment. Various other mines of copper were operated, some of which are named in the perspective following. Although the smelting of copper in the colonies was prohibited by England, yet a considerable portion of the colonial product was smelted by colonial operators, in colonial furnaces—some privately, some publicly.

**Pumping
Engine**

Philadelphia records of the first quarter of the century relate an interesting regulation concerning craftsmen of that city. It appears that, to follow any trade or branch of manufacture legally, it was necessary to take out a "freedom of the city." Those "freedoms" show that the city had a goodly supply of minor manufactures, for the licenses include cutlers, pewterers, braziers, goldsmiths, whitesmiths, and blacksmiths. Moreover, it appears that some craftsmen opened their places of business without a "freedom," and

that thereupon those who held legal "freedoms" made formal complaint.

The practice of clipping the current coins (mostly Spanish) made it necessary for tradespeople to have money scales and weights. A Philadelphia goldsmith supplied that need. Silversmiths were becoming common in the larger towns. Indeed, one writer states that Boston "always" had silversmiths; and those of Philadelphia petitioned for an assay office to stamp gold and silver.

One of the most interesting records of the period under review is that of a proposed tin-plate factory just preceding the Revolutionary War. **Tin-plate** Had the proposal ripened to operation, the Revolutionary soldiers would have been better supplied with canteens. In view of the twentieth century operations, it seems incomprehensible that even in the great Civil War, almost a century later, the United States had still to depend upon imported tin-plate for making army canteens. However, that branch of manufacture will furnish an emphatically interesting paragraph for one of the last divisions of this narrative.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—MINOR METALS, 1698-1774

[NOTE.—Dates in parentheses refer to other entries on the same subject.]

1707 or 1709, Conn.—Copper works at Simsbury (1719).

1717 and 1718, Phila.—Tradesmen licensed: 3 cutlers, 2 pewterers, 2 braziers, 2 goldsmiths, 1 whitesmith, and 14 blacksmiths.

1718, Phila.—Licensed tradesmen and manufacturers complained that unlicensed persons were competitors.

1719, Phila.—Money scales and weights made.

1719 (about), N. J.—Copper mines opened in Hanover township, Hudson Co., Belleville (1707, 1730).

1721, N. J.—Freestone quarrying begun at Newark.

1723, Phila.—Brass foundry in Front St.—Mo.—Lead mines granted.

1726, R. I.—Newport starts silverware manufacture. Boston "always" had silverware manufacture.

- 1730, Va.—3000 lb. copper ore sent to England (1707, 1732).
1731, Phila.—Hand-made nails on sale. Surplus of home industries.
1732, Pa.—Copper mine at the gap in Lancaster (1707, 1737).
1735 (?) N. J.—Copper mine opened in E. Orange (then Newark).
1737 and 39, Conn.—"Granby Coppers" coined (1707, 1750).
1738, N. H.—A set of blacksmith's tools bought by the town of Keene.
1740, N. Y.—Parts of guns manufactured at Albany.
1750, Phila.—Brass buttons and buckles manufactured.
1750 (about), N. J.—Copper stamping-mill near New Brunswick (1707, 1754).
1752, Boston.—The first granite ever used in this country, built into King's Chapel.
1754, N. J.—Two masses (1900 lb.) of virgin copper taken from a mine near Boundbrook (1707, 1766).
1759, Phila.—Brass foundry in 2d St.
1766 (about), N. J.—Batsto copper furnace built (1707, 1773).
1767, Phila.—Silversmiths petition for an assay office to stamp gold and silver.
1770, Conn.—Tinware manufactured at Berlin, Hartford Co.
1773, Conn.—The former copper mine at Simsbury used as a prison (1707).
1774, Pa.—Establishment of a tin-plate manufactory proposed.

CHAPTER V

SHIPBUILDING AND FISHERY

1698-1774

WHEN the New England panic fell upon the colonists in the seventeenth century, they found in active, urgent, insistent shipbuilding their most practical financial uplift. Out of their pinching poverty they saved and grouped their pitiful hoards to build them ships to ride the ocean-paths that were their only highways to the outside markets of the world. Sunrise of the eighteenth century found the American colonists not only excellent sailormen and superior master shipbuilders, it found them with the passion of the sea full grown among them. Their greatest merchants were their greatest ship-owners.

The traffic of the seas reached out to aid the farmer in his fields, the huntsman at his traps, the metal-worker at his forge, the miners and the lumbermen within their scattered camps, and every man or boy who worked in all these various ways; for the ships it was that took the products of their hands and brought them back their price. Nor were the dames and daughters of colonial homes in the least careless of

the ships that brought them dainty silks, and lace, and bits of treasured finery from far-off foreign coasts. Already were the colonists learning how interwoven are the ways of work. Without the farmers and the other toilers on the land, the toilers of the sea would have no cargoes for their ships. Without the sailors of the sea, the toilers on the land would have no outside market for the products of their toil; and in those days the outside markets meant much.

New England ports that built and sailed so well those earlier ships now built and sailed in larger fleets. The world-wide fame that had
Sales
begun so well flourished more widely.

One writer puts it strongly when he speaks of those early eighteenth century fleets as selling themselves "every second year at the highest prices." The "highest prices" part is undoubtedly correct, and a careful examination of the official records of the incoming and outgoing tonnage year by year indicates large and rapid sales. Certainly the sale of colonial-built ships was an important item to this industry and attracted capital from even the parent country. It also attracted the attention of ship-carpenters on the Thames river, England, who complained to the English Parliament at the closing of the first quarter of the century that New England was hurting their business. The fact that English capital was interested in colonial shipyards may partly explain why this complaint reached only deaf ears.

Another interesting side light on this feature of the industry is outlined very clearly in the following

extract from a work by Joshua Gee on the *Trade and Navigation of Great Britain* (1729):

“We have a great many young men who are bred to the sea, and have friends to support them; if they cannot get employment at home, they go to New England **Young Englishmen** and the Northern Colonies with a cargo of goods, which they there sell at a great profit, and with the produce build a ship and purchase a loading of lumber, and sail for Portugal or the Straits, etc., and, after disposing of their cargoes there, frequently ply from port to port in the Mediterranean till they have cleared so much money as will in good part pay for the first cost of the cargo carried out by them, and then perhaps sell their ships, come home, take up another cargo from their employers, and so go back and build another ship; by this means, multitudes of seamen are brought up, and, upon a war, the nation better provided with a greater number of sailors than hath been heretofore known. Here the master becomes merchant also, and many of them gain by this lumber trade great estates; and a vast treasure is thereby yearly brought into the Kingdom in a way new and unknown to our forefathers, for indeed it is gaining the timber trade heretofore carried on by the Dutch and Swedes, our Plantations being nearer the markets of Portugal and Spain than theirs are.”

Many more pages than can be given here are needed to write at all fully the striking history of shipbuilding in the eighteenth century, previous to the War of Revolution. The industry engrossed the attention of the most prominent men of New England and of the Middle Colonies. The results of the voyagings reached into the vital interests of colonial and European policies, even into the private exchequer of the English throne.

Boston held the reputation of building ships of the highest class. This was due largely to a system

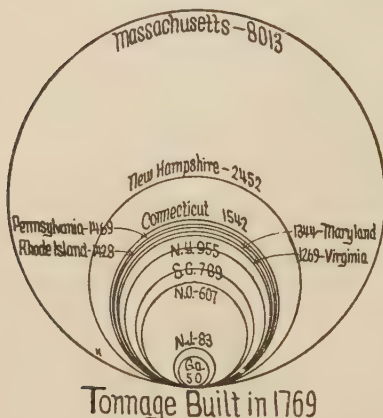
and practice of careful inspection. Among the more thriving shipbuilding towns (rivals of Boston itself) must be named the little port of Salem, which during the later part of the first quarter of the century cleared about eighty vessels per year on foreign voyages, and by the middle of the century had increased its record by more than half. Later, it incorporated a marine society, and among its citizens prominent in marine enterprise was that eminent mathematician, Nathaniel Bowditch, whose *Practical Navigator* to this day is an authority with American and British seamen on every ocean of the globe.

**Boston's
Record**

Vessels built in Newburyport, Mass., were of excellent repute, no less in England than in the colonies; and three years before the Revolutionary War its annual product reached ninety ships,—nearly two a week in what we would now call a little coast village. New Bedford, with its group of surrounding shipyards (Westport, Rochester, Wareham, and Dartmouth) was famous for its fishing vessels,—one of the most important branches of the shipbuilding industry. Medford, Charlestown, Ipswich, Haverhill, and other Massachusetts towns proper were also active shipbuilding centers, while the coast of Maine (which at that time was a part of Massachusetts) was no less productive at Pemaquid Point, Kittery Point, Wiscasset, Warren, Portland, Saco, and St. George's. Six years before the Revolutionary War, Massachusetts was producing nearly half of the total colonial output. New Hampshire came next. Other colonial shipbuilding is measured by the accompanying

**Other
Records**

diagram. As ordinarily told, the record of ship-building in some of the Middle Colonies seems



strangely controverted by the measures of the diagram. When carefully examined, it is apparent that such records are more in the nature of what to-day is known as "booming" rather than of well-advised statement of fact.

Very early in the century, England notified the colonies that cer-

tain pine trees, marked by British surveyors, were reserved by certain Parliamentary Acts and

"Mast " must not be cut, except upon orders
Trees given by the commissioner of the navy.

Those trees were reserved for ship-masts; but the reservation was resented by lumbermen, who then as now found it unsatisfactory to leave any good timber unfelled. Their saw-mills were hungry for just such trees, and the hunger sometimes transgressed legal boundaries. The cutting and transporting of those great trees whether for home or foreign use constituted a special branch of shipbuilding. To prevent the shattering of such a giant by its own mighty fall, a bed was prepared by felling many small trees and heaping branches of other trees all along the place where the massive trunk was to strike the ground. In hauling them out great teams of oxen (sometimes

200), as recorded elsewhere, were employed. Expert teamsters all along the stretch of this wonderful living engine of power coaxed, and guided, and cheered, and prodded the faithful, patient beasts, as they moved unceasingly on; for, once started, no stop was to be made until the ocean-side was reached. If an ox fell sick, he was unyoked, and another was put in his place while the great team moved steadily on. Most of these great tapering trunks were carried oversea in specially built ships. Others were formed into great rafts with a space in the center for crew and provisions, and were towed by sailing vessels to England. One such raft crossed to London in twenty-six days.

An interesting feature of shipbuilding developed at Philadelphia in its earlier experience. Great "raft-ships" were built to carry huge cargoes of timber. These ships were **Raft-ships** built to make but a single voyage. At the end of that voyage, the great ship was pulled to pieces, and its material sold as so much additional lumber and timber. The *Baron Renfrew* was of this type and made a safe passage to the Downs. Her measurement was upwards of five thousand tons,—tenfold that of even large sailing vessels at that date.

In the earlier records of shipbuilding, one finds such terms as "shallops, hoyes, lighters, pinnaces, ketches, sloops, pinks," and others, but no such term as "schooner."

It remained for Gloucester, Massachusetts, early in the second decade of the seventeenth century, to add this new and important name to the long list

of thereby diminished predecessors. An inventive builder conceived the idea of trying two masts instead of one, as had been the unvarying custom up to that time. At the launching of the novel craft, as she took the wind and proved her power, a bystander exclaimed, "How she scoons!" The inventor responded, "Schooner let her be," and schooner she has been ever since, although now often carrying several masts instead of only two.

Nearly twenty years after the advent of the schooner an important improvement in the quadrant was made by Thomas Godfrey, a native of Pennsylvania. This improvement is known as the reflecting quadrant, and was first used in West India navigation. Thence, it found its way to England, and later to France. These later uses obscured the name of Mr. Godfrey, as the invention was claimed by other men whose names were appended to the instrument in its European use.

About the middle of the century, the live oak of the Southern Colonies was introduced as a superior shipbuilding timber. This superiority over the common white oak and the chestnut heretofore used at once gave new value to the reputation of colonial ships, and the new material found a ready market at colonial shipyards.

Among those who made practical suggestions, contributing to the improvement and usefulness of colonial ships, must be included Dr. Franklin, that true American, whose energy, breadth of view, scope of action, and definite realities put him on a par

with the foremost of the strenuous Americans of twentieth century vigor.

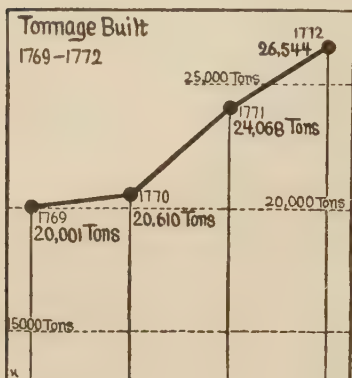
Already the aggressive shipbuilders were exhausting the ready-to-hand forest growths of ship-timber close along the shores and near to the mouths of prominent rivers.

**Inland
Building**

Pushing on farther up the streams, they built their ships well within the fastnesses of the native wilds, extemporizing such practical though crude blocks and stays as served to hold the structure on its ways, until it could be launched and sailed down the scanty stream to find its larger liberty in ventures on the ocean wave. Nor did the enterprise halt there. Small ships were built miles away from any stream or bay and took their first trips on sledges, hauled across the winter snows, up hill and down dale, between great forest trees, around the turns of rocks until, at last, they, too, found launching in the sea. Nor was it the little ship alone that had birth many miles away from running stream or friendly wave. Picking a spot where the proper timber grew, the expert master-builder laid the keels of larger ships, and built them up exactly as he built them on the beach, except that he tasked his art so to construct each mammoth skeleton, that when the last good rib was fitted to its place he could undo it all, pack on his sledges every numbered piece, and piecemeal haul it to the coast, a score of miles away, and quickly set it up anew. Short shift it was to give it then its final touch, and to send it on its way to battle with the waves.

The spirit of independence which culminated in

the non-importation and non-consumption resolutions of the colonists seemed to give a decided im-



pulse to the shipbuilding industry. At any rate, the increase in tonnage, from 1769 to 1772, as shown by the accompanying diagram, marks an average increase of nearly 10% a year for that important period when the spirit of industrial independence was rapidly crystallizing, and the col-

onists were gathering power for the coming struggle. Were annual records available for a few years earlier, and for the two years following, before the actual war began, they would be helpful to an accurate judgment of the causes of increase. Not a little of this activity was due to the foreign demand for colonial-built ships. In England alone, at the time, the colonies were selling about fifty ships a year, and there is evidence that indicates a considerable sale in other European markets and in the West Indies.

So far had ship construction gone, so perfect had the art been made, so strong and trusty were colonial ships, so expert had master-builders come to be, that when the naval call for battle-ships was made to meet the English ships-of-war, it was but fitting to its place a pattern ready wrought, to change our largest merchant craft to war-ships ready for the fray,

Naval Readiness

or build anew, whichever answered better. In fact, those merchant craft were far from being ships of peace. So much of piracy so long had lurked upon the sea that merchant ships themselves went armed or protected by a convoy armed to do effective work. Colonial naval readiness was just as well developed as colonial power to meet the call for firearms. However, that record falls to a later division of this narrative except for such items as the following perspective gives.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—SHIPBUILDING, 1698-1774

[NOTE.—The items in each perspective are representative, not exhaustive.]

- 1698, Pa. —Shipbuilding active in Philadelphia and other places on the Delaware river.
- 1698-1708, R. I.—One hundred three ships built, and total in the colony, 140.
- 1702, N. J.—First sloop built at Amboy.
- 1704, Eng.—Pitch-pine trees of the colonies reserved for the English navy.
- 1711, Eng.—Penalty for cutting pine trees marked for "Mast Timber" in New England, New York, and New Jersey.
- 1713, Mass.—The first schooner launched.
- 1717-19, Me.—Conflict of cutting pine trees on public lands.
- 1718, Mass.—Building six thousand tons of shipping annually.—Phila.—"Here is a great employ for shipwork for England. It increases and will increase."
- 1723-25, Conn.—Ship of seven hundred tons built at New London.
- 1724, Eng.—Ship-carpenters complain that New England is hurting their business.
- 1727, N. H. and Me.—The royal mast industry transferred from Portsmouth, N. H., to Portland, Me.
- 1731 or 32, Pa.—Godfrey invents the reflecting quadrant.
- 1737-50, Mass.—Decline in shipbuilding at Boston. Increase in smaller towns
- 1739, R. I.—War-sloop *Tartar* built
- 1740, Del.—*The Wilmington* built for the West Indian trade.
- 1740-79, N. C. & S. C.—Twenty-four square-rigged vessels, besides schooners and sloops built.
- 1743 (and soon after), New Eng.—*America*, *Boston*, and *Essex* built for the royal navy.
- 1747, N. Y. —Building ships in considerable numbers for London merchants.
- 1750, Southern Colonies.—Live-oak introduced for shipbuilding.
- 1755, N. Y.—Sloop of 40 ft. keel with 14 sweeps and 12 swivels built on Lake Ontario.
- 1766, Mass.—Marine Society formed at Salem. (Incorporated 1771).
- 1769.—Colonial tonnage built (see Diagram).
- 1769-72.—Total tonnage built (see Diagram.)
- 1770-71.—About fifty colonial-built vessels sold to England yearly.

FISHERY

So interwoven were the shipbuilding and the fishery industries of the colonies, that to hurt

the one was to bring distress upon the other. The *Blessing of the Bay* was a fishing ship. That is precisely why it was a blessing. By "Blessing of the Bay" means of it the colonists were so much farther removed from the realm of starvation. The earliest panic ships were fishing vessels, too. No other use of ships would give as quick returns. The waters of the ocean swarmed with food, and the colonists had but to take the fish to sell and to eat to find their first relief. The people of Europe had well-developed appetites for American fish, appetites that had come of long and hearty feeding on American cod, herring, and mackerel. Long before Plymouth, long before Jamestown, American waters were the yearly scene of many European fishing ships, whose fishermen made temporary settlements along the shore during the fishing season, and then sailed away to take their yearly catch to England, France, and Spain from the exhaustless sea.

In the eighteenth century, New England fishermen were counted by the thousands. Almost every invoice of English goods included an assortment of fishing tackle; and when one reads that in a single year the fishermen of Massachusetts alone took five thousand tons of cod, it gives importance to even so small an item as cod lines and hooks. One can see in very clear imagination, as a prominent feature of the colonial market towns, great stacks of fishing nets to trap the millions of mackerel and herring, as well as big hanks of cod lines and great packages of hooks, to take so many thousand tons year after

year, to keep the waste repaired, and to make the losses good.

Much of the fishing was done upon shares; and laws were made to prevent desertion from one ship or company to another, as well as to regulate the curing and sorting of fish.

Law

Wisely drawn laws were then, as now, a needful balance-wheel in every business enterprise, and our colonial fathers were watchful to guard their people against the carelessness which comes so close to criminality in many business operations.

The food products of the sea were not the only ones that served to give the enterprising colonists their skill in ships. The oil that swam the waters in the guise of whales shared with the cod and other ocean denizens to tempt the sailor's skill and to swell the merchant's pocket-book. To near the close of the seventeenth century, the bulky monsters of the mighty deep were frequenters of the shore waters of the continent, and whale fishers found their oily product close at hand. But finally the whales grew scarce in near-by waters. Was this because the smaller fish on which the whales were wont to feed were learning new sea lessons from the craft of men and thus deserting their former haunts, or was it because the harpoons of the whalers taught the whales directly the lesson of the dangers to their tribe in case they swam so close to land?

Whaling

Whatever the cause, the whales were to be found in larger numbers out in the open sea. This fact resulted in the building of larger whaling craft, and a consequent increase of skill among the sailormen

as they fulfilled the prophecy of one of their number, already grown old in the service, who, pointing to the open sea, exclaimed: "There is a green pasture where our children's grandchildren will go for bread!"

As in shipbuilding, so in whaling, Massachusetts held a prominent place. It was not, however, until the second half of the century that the

Expansion

greater expansion in the whaling industry made its most emphatic progress, and it was



the famous whalers of Nantucket that made the most remarkable records. The thirty-year war period had closed. Piracy on the open sea was less aggressive. Whalers were well versed in cutting up their catch in midocean, instead of towing it to land; and within a few years they were taking voyages of months, and shouting, "There she blows," in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in the mouth of Baffin's bay, far out east of

Newfoundland, and in the northern waters of South America.

Just how much this wider whale fishing helped to fit colonial sailors to man the naval craft of the Revolutionary struggle, no man can say in definite measure. Any of us can give it a reasonably true value in that regard, for it not only bred hardy sea-storm fighters, but also gave a practical knowl-

edge of marine topography that could not have come otherwise. Each of these qualities and many others, schooled by the stern experience of that peculiarly hardy ocean battling, pertinently and significantly contributed to our historic naval successes.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—FISHERY, 1698-1774

- 1690, Mass.—Open-sea whaling begun by Nantucket whalers.
 1713.—First sperm-whale fishery.
 1723, Mass.—A bill for "ye better cureing and culling of fish."
 1725, N. H.—One hundred fishing vessels.
 1726.—Culmination of whaling in Nantucket home waters, eighty-six whales. (Close of home-waters whaling, 1760).
 1729, N. H.—Petitions for salmon wears.
 1731, Mass.—Fisheries employ one thousand ships and five to six thousand men.
 1733, Mass.—First sale of shad at Northampton.
 1741, Mass.—Gloucester alone has seventy fishing vessels.
 1743.—Whales cut up at *sea*,—a great saving in time.
 1754, New Eng.—Whale-fishery prominent.
 1755, Mass.—No fisherman to have his share in cod fishing profits if he did not fill his full contract time.
 1746-74, Mass.—Nantucket whalers go far out to sea for whales.
 1761, Mass.—Ten whaling vessels. In 1762, fifty. In 1763, eighty or more.
 1763, Mass.—Three hundred fishing vessels take five thousand tons of cod.
 1764, New Eng.—Six thousand men employed in fishing.
 1766, R. I.—"Dragging" for oysters forbidden.
 1770, Mass.—Scituate has thirty sail of vessels in mackerel fishing.
 1774, Mass.—"Planting" of oysters begun at Cape Cod.
 All dates—Cod-fishing was best in June. Next best in October.

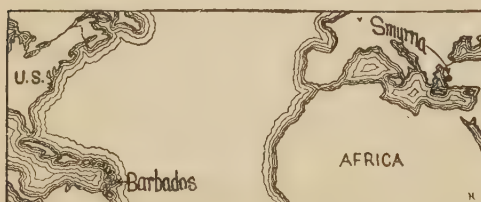
CHAPTER VI

TEXTILES

1698-1774

AN earlier division of this narrative closed the textile record with an indication that the Northern and Middle Colonies were already in a fairly independent condition regarding cloth manufacture. More definitely stated, that indication means that the field of sheer necessity was already occupied. The actual growing of flax and hemp, the raising of sheep, and the import of cotton from Barbados, Smyrna, and other

17th
Century



places had already reached that stage which gave nearly an adequate supply of first-process clothing material.

The actual production of fiber from the stalks of flax and hemp, the actual spinning of those fibers, and those of wool and cotton, into yarn was already in real practice in the majority of homes. In not a few of those homes were looms in the actual operation of producing cloth. A few

fulling-mills were performing actual work upon as many of the yards of cloth as the more able colonists felt they needed for their "Sunday suits."

The success attained seemed but to waken the passion for greater success. The finding of their feet upon the path seemed but to spur

the travelers to a swifter pace. Then, **Conflict** just as the seventeenth century was closing, England placed a bar across the way to stop their further progress. That bar only roused the passion for success to a higher pitch, and the determination to make all the clothing that they chose to make took deeper root.

To understand rightly the act of England relating to textile manufacture, it is helpful to read its most pregnant clause:

"After the first day of December, 1699, no wool, wolfels, yarn, cloth, or woollen manufactures of the English plantations [colonies] in America, shall be shipped in any of the said English plantations [colonies], or otherwise loaden, in order to be transported thence to any place whatsoever, under the penalty of forfeiting ship and cargo, and £500 fine for each offence; and the Governors of the Plantations [colonies] and Officers of Customs and Revenue there, are to see this Act, as it relates to the plantations [colonies], duly executed."

This clause proposed the shutting up of the colonists as close prisoners in a felon's cell. Not a skein of yarn, not a yard of cloth, could

they even load upon a ship or wagon, or **Prison** on the back of a horse or mule or ox to take to any market or to any fulling-mill. To compensate the colonists (from the English point of view), large drawbacks of duties on foreign goods imported

from England were granted, so that many sorts of foreign goods could be bought in the colonies as cheap, and sometimes cheaper than in England. To the colonists who believed in colonial production to give employment to colonial labor, this drawback proposition was "insult added to injury," or rather injury added to injury, for it gave unpatriotic consumers a market that cut down colonial production.

As a further concession to the colonists (from the English point of view), liberal bounties were offered for colonial production and sale to England of many sorts of "raw materials." To the patriotic colonist, this, too, was but a covert act of robbery, for to his mind it was rank heresy to send any sort of products out of his colony in the first stages of manufacture. To account for the English point of view, it is only necessary to repeat a statement made by Lewis Morton in *Treasures of Traffic* as late as nine years before the middle of the century, in which it is told that Manchester, Eng., bought linen yarn from the Irish, wove it into linen cloth, and sent it back to Ireland, and that cotton grown in Cyprus and Smyrna had a similar history.

As an index of peculiar value, in revealing the minds of Englishmen and also of colonists, extracts are here taken from the report of Lord Cornbury to his superiors in England upon the state of the Province of New York, six years after Parliament had published its provision for absolutely stopping all textile traffic in the colonies and thereby attempting to throttle its production, except as the first-process product

**Point of
View**

should be shipped to England to aid English manufacture:

“I am well informed that upon Long Island and Connecticut they are setting upon a woolen Manufacture, and I myself have seen Serge made upon Long Island that any man may wear. Now, if they begin to make Serge, they will, in time, make coarse Cloth, and then fine. . . . I hope I may be pardoned if I declare my opinion that all these Colloneys which are but twigs belonging to the main Tree (England) ought to be kept entirely dependent upon and subservient to England, and that can never be, if they are suffered to go on in the notions they have, that, as they are Englishmen, soe they may set up the same manufactures here as people may do in England; for the consequence will be, if once they see they can cloathe themselves, not only comfortably, but handsomely too, without the help of England, they, who are already not very fond of submitting to government, would soon think of putting in execution designs they had long harboured in their breasts. This will not seem Strange, when you consider what sort of people this country is inhabited by.”

Now when this was the state of things in New York, it is not difficult to judge the conditions in New England, where the patriot fires of industrial freedom burned with a steadier, fuller glow and a stronger heat.

Lord Cornbury did not see fit to stop at this. He adds a still more forcible bit of information by reporting that, “We have as good fuller’s earth . . . in this province as any **Conditions** in the world; how far this will be for the service of England, I submit to better judgments.” The sting of this choice report becomes obvious when it is understood that England supposed she held almost a world monopoly of that important fossil

deposit, and that, therefore, as Dodsley in his *Agriculture* many years before wrote:

“This oil-imbibing earth,
The fuller’s mill assisting, safe defies
All foreign rivals in the clothier’s art,”

and cites the opinion of Dr. Woodward that it was of more value to England than the mines of Peru would be.

Ten years later, Governor Hunter of the same Province, reported: “A very considerable manufactory . . . for Stuffs, Kerseys, Linsey-wolseys, Flannels, Buttons, &c.” And he gave it as his opinion that the effect had already been to decrease the colonial purchases from Great Britain of these goods by the sum of £50,000 per year.

Not too much to strain the sequence of history, just here should be entered a memorandum of the compelling force of the tobacco disaster of the Southern Colonies which in the first decade of the eighteenth century drove the Virginians, even in the best tobacco regions, to the cultivation of flax and hemp and to the production of cloth, when they had very little money to buy merchandise of England or of any other manufacturing people. In the poorer tobacco regions, before the disaster was past, the planters had come almost to the point of producing enough cloth for their entire need of clothing.

Reports continued to reach England that the colonists were still making progress in providing their own clothing, and the English House of Commons urged the English colonial board of trade

**Tobacco
Panic**

to make careful inquiry and to report the actual condition of the industry in the several colonies. The members of the board of trade were from the outset handicapped by the fact that the colonists well knew that any answers they should make would be used to the largest advantage of England, whether advantageous or disadvantageous to the colonies. This fact should be constantly kept in mind: that England was not aiming to harm the colonies. She was aiming to aid English interests both in agriculture and in manufacture. If such action hurt Spain or France or even the English colonies, that was not England's affair. "England for Englishmen" was her sentiment, and no colonist would have made complaint, save of the fact that in planning the benefits the colonists were not considered as Englishmen. For benefits, only those were Englishmen who lived in England.

Because of this state of affairs, patriotic colonists did not go out of their way to inform the lords of trade, in answer to their inquiries. Yet so much came to them that they reported, at the closing of the first third of the century:

"In New England, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and in the county of Somerset in Maryland, they have fallen into the manufacture of woollen cloth and linen cloth for the use of their own families only. . . . Flax and hemp being likewise easily raised, the inhabitants manufacture them into a coarse sort of cloth, bags, traces, and halters for their horses, which they found did more service than those they had from any part of Europe. . . . It were to be wished that some expedient might be fallen upon to direct their thoughts from undertakings of this nature; so

much the rather, because these manufactures, in process of time, may be carried on in greater degree, unless an early stop be put to their progress. . . . The Governor of Massachusetts Bay informed us that in some parts of this Province the inhabitants worked up their wool and flax into an ordinary coarse cloth for their own use, but did not export any. . . . By late accounts from Massachusetts Bay, in New England, the Assembly have voted a bounty of thirty shillings for every piece of duck or canvass made in the Province. Some other manufactures are carried on there, as brown hollands for women's wear, which lessens the importation of calicoes, and some other sorts of East India goods. They also make some small quantities of cloth made of linen and cotton, for ordinary shirting. . . . Great quantities of hats are made in New England of which the company of hatters in London have complained to us that great quantities of these hats are exported to Spain, Portugal, and our West India Islands."

The report also states that great quantities of hats were manufactured in New York and that in Pennsylvania coarse woolen and linen cloth was made for home use.

The statement in the early part of the foregoing report contains the key to the whole situation.

Progress When nearly all families were making
Measured clothing "for the use of their own families only," the case is pretty nearly covered. As a further corroboration of the truth of this home production, a letter from Comptroller Ware, written to an English Nobleman, about the middle of the century, states: "Upon actual knowledge, therefore of these Northern Colonies, one is surprised to find, that notwithstanding the indifference of their wool, and the extravagant price

of labor, the planters throughout all New England, New York, The Jersies, Pennsylvania, and Maryland . . . almost entirely clothe themselves in their own woolens, and that generally, the people are sliding into the manufactures proper to the mother country."

An estimate of the family production of cloth just previous to the Revolutionary War reckons that among the more than two million people of the colonies, there were 450,000 women and girls able to spin. Employing one third of those (150,000) at the usual rate and the usual hours, would produce twenty-three million yards of cloth per year; more than ten yards for each man, woman, and child in all the colonies. The estimator thought, however, that only about 120,000 were actually employed. That would give only about four fifths of the clothing as of domestic production. His own Province (N. J.), however, was capable alone of producing sufficient hemp to supply the deficiency.

An Estimate

Summer and Winter

Linen cloth, the manufacture of which received a vigorous impulse early in the century through the improvements introduced by the Scotch-Irish of New England and Pennsylvania, served for warm-weather wear, and the woolen and wool mixed cloths served for the colder months. These undressed materials were more serviceable than those of finer finish would have been, and were worn by the patriots of those days with a pride that was perhaps even stronger than any mere pride of dress in these later years of elegance, strong as that is: for it was a deeper pride,

working toward a provision for their own land to reach this modern elegance.

The colonists were already "American." Almost a century had passed since Dutch or French had come to these shores except in insignificant numbers. The new generations now living here had no vital touch with Europe. Weakened and weakening traditions of the fatherlands were fast becoming mere fading shadows, and the English attitude of subjugation was fast sending the clear light of unimpeded vision straightway through that shadowy film, and the spirit of "America for Americans" was already fully born. So strongly was the spirit working in New England (as the culmination of the conflict approached) that five years before the opening of the war for industrial independence, at the Harvard "commencement," each graduate wore a suit composed wholly of New England manufacture.

During these many years of struggle, numerous encouragements of cloth manufacture were undertaken as noted in the perspective at the close of this chapter. To offset the colonial bounties offered for the production of sailcloth, England enacted that the first set of sails on each colonial-built ship must be of English cloth. This may have been especially inspired by the considerable English capital employed in colonial shipbuilding.

Under the influence of the Scotch-Irish impulse, a spinning school was opened in Boston, with much enthusiasm. At its opening, a great gathering of people was present, and the women of Boston, rich

and poor, vied with each other upon the Common in the use of their spinning-wheels, which were probably more familiarly known in their families than were easy-chairs. This phase of encouragement and instruction received hearty support for several years by both subscription and taxation. At about the same date as the beginning of this Boston spinning school, New York made its first public move to provide "for the relief and setting on work of poor and needy persons, and idle vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, and others." A building was erected on the Common, and in its equipment were four spinning-wheels, knitting needles, flax, etc.

About the middle of the century a society was formed in Boston for the promotion of industry and frugality. The Assembly granted four townships of land, and gave other aid in extension and support of the enterprise. A few years later at one of its anniversaries, three hundred young female spinners appeared upon the Common, seated at their wheels. Weavers were also assembled, neatly attired in materials of their own weaving, while one of their number operated a loom on a platform carried on the shoulders of men, accompanied by music. This society was among the earliest, if not the forerunner of the many similar societies which exerted a practical influence upon the advancement of cloth and other colonial manufactures. Spinning matches were also held, at which many spinners of a neighborhood met at some designated home, and tried their skill each against each, and at the close of the contest often donated the entire product to some needy person or to some worthy object.

In the few later years, just preceding the Revolutionary War, institutions began to be established in which several small looms and other cloth-making machinery were grouped. **Manufac-**
tories Scanning these evolutions from a chronological standpoint, one gains the impression that they were, in part at least, the natural outgrowth of the operations of these charitable organizations, spinning schools, etc., already referred to. A successful operation of several machines in one building, under one head for a charitable purpose, is the most natural suggestion of a similar operation for a business purpose. While such organizations were still but few and small, they were enough, under the spur of the non-intercourse spirit and the added spur of the necessities of war, to serve for the beginning of a remarkable expansion, the story of which falls to the succeeding division of this history.

Statistical data regarding silk manufacture during the eighteenth century give it an undue importance, because of the fact that, in spite of the
Silk alluring figures, the industry attained only a temporary footing. It created no small furore in some of the colonies, especially in Georgia and in Pennsylvania, because silk filatures were put in actual operation in Savannah and Philadelphia, and raw silk was actually produced in quantities that, taken by themselves, seem large. The value was of importance to those making the ventures, rather on account of promise than of profit.

Silk production has two sides to its history, and so far as the eighteenth century is concerned, the

agricultural side is of the larger importance, because, for the time being, as a household industry of exceeding interest, it occupied the absorbing attention of hundreds of women and children. The representative manufacture of raw silk is outlined in the perspective, beginning at 1742, and the parenthetical dates following each entry carry the reader directly from one silk record to the next throughout the list. The Revolutionary War fatally wrecked the industry, only a single strand, anchored in Connecticut, holding to connect the first beginning with the second. The new beginning was made just at the birth of the new Nation. From that second beginning, which is to be told in a later division of this narrative, it had a fluctuating progress of no small interest, until, in the opening of this twentieth century, the silk product of the United States outranks that of every other nation save one.

Like silk, cotton has a twofold history. As an article of manufacture in the colonies, it had proceeded no further than the beginning
Cotton
stage at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. That process, however, had already brought into use several forms of cotton-gins, some of them inventions of the planters in the Southern Colonies. What is known as the Whitney cotton-gin met the demand at a later date and in a larger way. These earlier inventions relieved the fingers of the task of separating the fiber from the seed, and at the same time facilitated the work, some, fourfold, some, thirtyfold. The term "Bowed Georgia Cotton" came from the use of the bow-string gin, one of the very early devices, used in

India for untold generations. An interesting reference to an early cotton-gin is found in *Chambers's Cyclopaedia* [London. 1728] as follows: "The seed of the Cotton being mixed in the fruit together with the Cotton itself, they have invented little Machines which being played by the motion of a wheel, the Cotton falls on one side, and the seed on the other; and thus they are separated."

The invention of the great cotton-gin occurred in any one of the years, 1792-94, according to the authority consulted. Therefore the wonderful impetus given to the industry by that device falls to a later narrative. The intervening volume will, however, carry a record of large interest concerning the emphatic progress made during the period of the less effective machines.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—TEXTILES, 1698-1774

[NOTE.—Dates in parentheses indicate other entries on the same subject.]

[NOTE.—The items in each perspective are representative, not exhaustive.]

- 1699, Eng.—Export of cloth or materials to "any other place whatsoever" forbidden.
- 1703, N. J.—A fulling-mill.
- 1704, Eng.—Bounties for the colonial production of many "raw materials" to be shipped to England.—Pa.—Felt-makers petition the General Court to prohibit the export of beaver and other felt furs.
- 1706, Va. and Md.—Manufacture of linen and woolen cloth attempted, "sheer necessity" because of the tobacco panic.
- 1713, Conn.—But one fuller in the colony (?).
- 1719, Mass.—"The inhabitants worked up their wool and flax and made a coarse sort for their own use."—N. H.—Scotch-Irish settle Londonderry and introduce flax and better manufacture of linen.
- 1721, Eng.—Act prohibiting use of *certain* cotton goods.—Va.—"Virginia cloth" manufactured.—New Eng.—Hat manufacture begun in principal towns.—Phila.—Weavers' articles manufactured.
- 1722, Mass. and R. I.—Bounty for sail-cloth.
- 1725, Mass.—Salem provides a spinning-wheel, cards, and wool to furnish employment to a homeless woman.—Conn.—Monopoly given for manufacture of sail-cloth.
- 1728 or '30, Conn.—Fulling-mill built.
- 1730, Pa.—Farmers probably make nine tenths of their clothing from flax, hemp, and wool produced on their own farms.—Pa.—Fulling-mill at Lancaster, also at Columbia, Ephrata, and in Chester and Bucks Counties.
- 1731, Eng.—London felt-makers petition Parliament to stop the colonial exports of hats, and such a law passed the following year.

- 1734, N. Y.—A provision "for . . . setting on work of poor needy persons . . . idle vagabonds," and others.
- 1737, Mass.—Assembly taxes carriages and other luxuries to support a "spinning school" at Boston.
- 1742, Carolina.—Silk raised. Many ladies sent it to England. However, from 1742 to 1755 only two hundred fifty-one pounds sent. (1750.)—La.—M. Dubreuil invents a cotton-gin.
- 1746, Eng.—First set of sails on each colonial-built ship must be of English sail-cloth. —Boston.—Wool- and cotton-cards manufactured.
- 1747-8, New Eng.—Homespun "jackets" in merchants' stocks.
- 1749, Boston.—Society formed for promoting industry and frugality.
- 1750-54, Ga.—Average value of raw silk, \$2200 per year. (1742, 1751.)
- 1751, Boston.—Street parade illustrating spinning and weaving.—Ga.—A silk filature built and six thousand three hundred pounds of cocoons treated. (1742, 1755.)
- 1752, Pa.—The flax, bearing seventy thousand bushels of seed, all made into coarse linen.
- 1753, Mass.—A bleachery at Boston. Three hundred girl spinners, on the Boston commons, take part in the fourth anniversary of the Society of Industry and Frugality. Spinning school organized at Charlestown.—Conn.—Large numbers employed in making linen thread.
- 1755-72, Ga.—Average production of raw silk, five hundred forty-six pounds yearly. (1742, 1758.)
- 1756, Mass.—Sloop, Boston to Albany, carries "200 homespun jackets."
- 1758, Ga.—Filature burned. Rebuilt the following year. (1742, 1760.)
- 1760, Pa.—Twelve fulling-mills in Philadelphia Co. The Germans, Scotch, and Irish wove linen fabrics.
- 1760 (about).—Dutch looms introduced.
- 1760-67, Ga.—Nearly one hundred thousand pounds of cocoons received at the filature. (1742, 1762.)
- 1762, New Eng.—Spinning-wheels and looms in almost every farmhouse and many village homes. A fulling-mill in almost every hamlet.—Eng.—A London society offers a bounty for colonial silk production. (1742, 1766.)
- 1763-75, New Eng. and N. Y.—Itinerant weavers weave on the household looms.
- 1765, N. C.—Weaving begun.
- 1766, Eng.—Parliament reduces the price of colonial silk by one half: (1742, 1770.) —N. Y.—Linsey-woolsey (linen warp, woolen weft) woven.
- 1767, N. Y.—Linen factory of fourteen looms.
- 1770, Pa.—Mrs. Wright, a Quaker, received a premium for silk of her own raising (1742, 1771.)—Mass.—Harvard graduates wear cloth wholly of New England manufacture. Aid given to a private cloth manufactory organized for charitable purposes.
- 1771, Pa.—Two thousand three hundred pounds of cocoons sent to the public filature by Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey. (1742.)
- 1772, Ala.—Mr. Crebs invents a cotton-gin.
- 1773, N. J.—One county produced a hundred tons of hemp and could produce five hundred tons.
- 1774, Pa.—The wearing of "leather doublets" (waistcoats) recommended. Household product of clothing in New England and some of the Middle Colonies equals the needs of the people.

Before the Revolution, Phila.—Hand cards manufactured for flax, hemp, etc.

CHAPTER VII

PAPER, PRINTING, BOOKS

1698-1774

CIVILIZATION without paper and printing is almost as impossible as breathing without air. Knowledge transmitted by spoken sound or visible sign or recognized touch, as birds and beasts and insects communicate with one another, has little power to raise created animal life above mere existence. Oral tradition gives small scope to reasoning power, and therefore has but little civilizing uplift.

The making of paper, may in itself, be only plodding toil, and the toilers' care but little, save for wage, and reams, and profits. The **Civilization** impress of the printer's ink across the page may have, for those who make the impress, little of care save for its cash rewards. Yet what the combined labor yields becomes the real foundation of all civilizing power. Not only the papyrus of Egypt, but the similar products of Peru and Mexico, carried to later generations, in their similar hieroglyphs, the records of their laws and institutions, their history, and the chart lines of their coasts. These accumulations of knowledge provided the basis of repeated comparisons and of consequent progress.

The American colonists brought with them, from their European homes, not only the personal knowledge furnished by their lives, but also books and documents with the accumulations of the many generations past. Their tale of books seems few, and yet they served their purpose well. The needs of food and shelter crowded hard in the earlier home-making, hence their hours were few for aught but muscular toil, and yet the lessons of the books were ever present with their readers, while their years swept on. From the first, a few among them wrote the story of their New World lives, and made crude charts to guide their mariners along the New World shores, and there were available for the use of the community a few books and charts that had been brought across the Atlantic.

The settlers brought the plans and customs of their European homes, where printing was a royal privilege, and therefore only slowly did they gain the privilege here. When such privilege had been secured, the presses, paper, ink, and type must still be brought from oversea. England made paper but little earlier than the Pennsylvania Dutchmen did at Germantown. Like the American colonists, the English imported their chief supply from France and Holland.

There was but a single paper-mill in existence at the close of the seventeenth century. This mill was located in what is now a part of Philadelphia, on a stream known as **Monopoly** Paper-mill Run, in the southwestern part of Germantown. It was operated by people who came from Holland, where their ancestors were engaged

in paper-making. It seems to have had a complete monopoly of the colonial manufacture of paper for over a quarter of a century, when a rival was put in operation at Elizabethtown, N. J. Two years later, a mill was erected at Milton (or Dorchester), Mass., about seven miles south of Boston, under a ten-year monopoly ("patent") granted by the General Court, upon conditions: First fifteen months to make 140 reams of brown paper and 60 reams of printing paper. The second year, to make 50 reams of printing paper in addition to the first-mentioned quantity. The third and later years to make 25 reams of a superior quality of writing paper in addition to the quantities before mentioned: the entire yearly product to be not less than 500 reams.

About the same date a mill was erected on Chester creek, Pa., a few miles south of Philadelphia. It made both writing and printing papers and clothier's pasteboard, and supplied Franklin with much of his material. At the same place, by the old hand process, was also made much of the paper for colonial paper money.

Although the making of paper began in England only about five years before it did in Pennsylvania, yet the progress had been much more rapid, and it had already become an important branch of manufacture when New England began to encourage the industry. The English paper-makers did not fail to notice this proposed entrance into their market, and the House of Commons directed the English colonial board of trade to report on the matter. The report expressed a fear that unless the colonial manufacture was

Bounty

quickly stopped it would be greatly increased, and added that the latest information stated that paper was already made (1732) "to the value of two hundred pounds Sterling yearly."

As in the case of iron, no immediate action was taken by the English government, and the industry continued to advance as the recognized requirements of the printers demanded.

**English
Action**

After a third of a century, however, came the passage of the "Stamp Act," which in a special clause required all newspapers and pamphlets to be printed on stamped paper of English manufacture, and, in addition, all publications, including almanacs, were to pay a specified tax, and all advertisements an additional tax besides. Dr. Franklin was in London at the time, and on the evening following the passage of the Act wrote; "the sun of liberty is set, you must light up the lamps of industry and economy." To this his friend, Mr. Charles Thompson, replied: "Be assured we shall light torches of quite another sort." Those of "other sort" were promptly lighted; and they shone so brightly that even far-away England became startled and hastened to repeal the ugly Act, fearing that those torches would fire something more than popular indignation.

The repeal, however, was accompanied by an Act that declared the right of England to tax the colonies, and the next step was to lay special duties on many articles, including both paper and pasteboard. While considerable paper was made in the colonies by this time, yet much was imported, and in the non-importation and non-consumption resolutions which

followed, the colonists were urged to encourage home production, and paper was specially mentioned as deserving such encouragement. Connecticut offered a bounty of two pence per quire on the manufacture of writing paper and half that on printing paper. A mill was started at Norwich, and two years later the bounty was paid on 4020 quires of writing paper, and 10,600 quires of printing paper.

Six years before the Revolutionary War, forty paper-mills were in operation in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, feeders to Philadelphia, which city was at that time one of the two great centers of the printing industry of the colonies. Indeed, six of the mills were located in Philadelphia county: Boston, the other great printing center, imported most of its paper. In the same year, the following announcement appeared in the *Boston News-Letter*: "The bell-cart will go through Boston before the end of next month to collect rags for the paper-mill at Milton, when all people that will encourage the paper manufactory, may dispose of them."

Ten years before the Revolutionary War, the reports of the *Society of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce* of New York, mention the presentation of samples of paper-hangings of colonial make, which they recommended. This report, in its meagerness, is an emphatic index of the use of wall decoration in the colonies at that date. Except with the very wealthy, all ornament was of necessity excluded. Well-scoured, sanded floors, the pride of good housewives, was the limit in most homes. Paint and paper-hanging had to

Philadelphia
and Boston

Wall-Paper

wait until the demands of sharp necessity were succeeded by something like the incoming of ordinary comforts. Prosperity in that day meant that necessity was met and actual suffering avoided.

The first church in Boston was never painted, inside or out. Nine years after the settlement of Boston, just across the Charles river, only about a mile away, in Charlestown, Rev. Thos. Allen, having moved into a house that had some paint on it, was called to account for his extravagance. After he had proved that it was done before his time, and had stated his disapproval of it, he was excused.

A full half-century after the settlement of Plymouth, a list of mechanics, made out by the General Court of Massachusetts, does not carry the name of a single painter. It was nearly ninety years after Boston was settled before painters' colors were on sale, and twenty years later before they were advertised. A Swedish traveler, visiting New York two years before the middle of the eighteenth century, wrote:

"The walls of the houses are whitewashed within, and I did not anywhere see hangings, with which the people in this country seem, in general, to be little acquainted. The walls are quite covered with all sorts of drawings and pictures, in small frames. On each side of the chimneys, they usually have a sort of alcove, and the wall under the window is wainscoated, with benches near the window. The alcoves, as well as all of the woodwork, are painted with a blueish-grey color."

Hangings of rich cloth, imported from Holland or from India, were, from early colonial times, occasionally employed by the more wealthy people in the larger towns.

PRINTING

Seventy editions, running through a period of one hundred and fourteen years, is the record of the first book published in the United States. This *Bay State Psalm Book* was reprinted in England soon after its colonial advent at Cambridge, and its career was closed by a twenty-second edition printed in Scotland, five years after its final colonial edition, and four years after the middle of the eighteenth century. As an example of press-work, its first colonial printing would be repudiated to-day by even the poorest of amateurs in the State of its birthplace. But if Mr. Daye, who had charge of that first printing-press, were alive, he could probably easily blame it all on the "printer's devil," for we must remember that the devils of that early day were much more fierce than those of the twentieth century.

Although printing was permitted in three of the colonies at the beginning of the eighteenth century, yet the freedom of the press was far from being accomplished. One of its first important victories was won in Massachusetts, when, almost at the close of the second decade, the governor undertook to suppress the printing of a report of a controversy between the king's surveyor of the woods and the people of Maine, regarding the cutting of "mast-pines." The report was printed, and from that date, the press began to issue pamphlets upon such subjects as seemed to be of importance to the colonists. Many of those earlier pamphlets related to the issue of paper

**Freedom of
the Press**

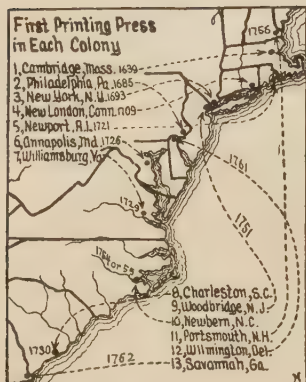
money which caused such keen controversies among the people.

Fourteen years later, another important victory for the freedom of the press was won in New York. From that date onward the principle has been steadily maintained, although at times its excessive abuse by unscrupulous newspapers has puzzled thinking men as to what is helpful and what is harmful freedom. As in the case of all other powers and privileges, temperance is the only safe pathway, the way of highest value, so in the use of the press. On the one hand, excess is death: on the other hand, indolence also is death.

This glance at the political side of printing is warranted only because whatever checks industrial operation checks industrial prosperity. Had not colonial politics broken European fetters, with which printing was bound hand and foot at its first planting in the colonies, neither the moral nor the physical progress of this nation could have made its twentieth century attainment,—an attainment outstripping in both directions that of any other nation, ancient or modern.

Before the Revolutionary War, the business of newspaper publication was a doubtful enterprise. Subscribers were few. The newspaper habit was not even born, to say nothing **Newspapers** of its being developed. Advertising was meager. Capital was scarce. Labor was relatively high-priced. Materials (presses, type, paper, ink) were generally imported at high cost. Ten years before the middle of the century, there were eleven newspapers in the colonies: Five in Boston, three in

Philadelphia (one German), and one each in New York, Virginia, and South Carolina. The ordinary



size was that of a sheet of foolscap writing paper, or half that size, and the issue, weekly. A copy of the *Boston Gazette*, published in 1770, measures $15\frac{3}{4} \times 20$ inches, when fully unfolded. It carries four pages of three columns each, and as a considerable part of the issue is taken up with the current account of the Boston Mas-

sacre, it is possible the paper is larger than usual. Probably not, however, as the day of "swelled editions" had not come.

For a time, the *Boston Gazette* was printed by James Franklin (brother of Benjamin) who established the *New England Courant* and the *Rhode Island Gazette*. After his death, his widow carried on the business for seventeen years. For the government, among other things, she printed an edition of the laws of the colony, of 340 pages folio. As her husband had previously done in Boston, she also in Newport printed calicoes, linens, and silks. Her press was worked by a servant of the family.

A detailed accounting of the newspapers in existence in the colonies at the opening of the Revolutionary War totals twenty-eight. Nearly twice as many others had been started since the opening of the century, but in the meantime had ceased to be. Printing-presses at the same date numbered about

forty,—not as many as are often found in a single printing-house in any of our large cities in the opening of the twentieth century, and a single press of this equipment is in many cases more than equal to the whole forty presses of a century and a quarter ago. When it is remembered that the population of the colonies is estimated at two and a half million at that time, the data given serve to show how meager were the supplies of the colonists in an industry upon which so much depends now, and which has been so powerfully instrumental in uplifting the American nation in the century and a quarter intervening. The population has increased a little over thirty-fold, the presses and printing, more than thirty-thousand-fold.

The preceding comparisons prepare the reader to understand the hazard of undertaking the casting of type to supply that infinitesimal colonial demand, and yet that hazard

Type

was undertaken as early as ten years before the middle of the century, at Germantown, Pa. Mr. Sower was printing a Bible in German to supply his countrymen. The delay of importing types (the only way of obtaining them, then) led this enterprising Dutchman to the making of his own type. He also made type for others in both English and German. After three years of arduous labor, his German Bible, in 1272 pages, was completed and he announced that: "The price of our newly finished Bible, in plain binding with a clasp will be eighteen shillings; but to the poor and needy we have no price."

A few others at a later date made some type in

New England. Mr. Sower not only had the largest type foundry in the colonies, he also made printer's ink, and established the largest book **Ink** manufactory in the colonies, giving employment to a paper-mill and several book-binderies.

Because of the English monopoly, no Bible was printed in the colonies in the English language until after the printing of both Indian **Bibles** and German Bibles. Even then the first issue was printed covertly at Boston with the imprint: "London: Printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty." Only seven or eight hundred copies were issued, and the deception seems not to have been discovered. This was only two years after the middle of the century and was shortly followed by an edition of the New Testament on the same plan, in the same city.

At that period, a branch of book manufacture which to-day is usually combined with printing was closely associated with bookselling. **Book-binding** most continuously, in Boston, one (or more) of the leading booksellers was also a bookbinder, and Boston was the leading book market of the eighteenth century. In other cities also, the same association or combination seems to have obtained. The following interesting advertisement appeared in the Boston *Rehearsal*, in 1732:

"Whereas, it has been the Common Method of the most Curious Merchants in Boston, to procure their books from London, This is to acquaint those gentlemen, that I . . . will sell all sorts of Accompt Books, done after the most

acute Manner for Twenty per Cent cheaper than they can have them from London. I return the Public Thanks for following the Directions of my former Advertisement for gathering Rags, and hope they will continue the like Method, having received upwards of Seven Thousand weight already."

Still, remembering that there were only forty presses (small hand presses) in all the colonies, at the close of the pre-Revolution period, one is compelled to reach the conclusion that the whole bookbinding business, of all kinds of books and pamphlets, would call for only a little corner of a single modern bookbindery.

No more fitting conclusion of this chapter can be made than to repeat an incident in the early Philadelphia career of the man who stands **Franklin** for a larger place in the history of American printing than any other: When Dr. Franklin was printing the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, a person handed him a proposed contribution for its columns. Franklin asked that it might be left until the next day for decision, which was made as follows:

"I have perused your piece and find it to be scurrilous and defamatory; to determine whether I should publish it or not, I went home in the evening, purchased a two penny loaf at the baker's, and, with water from the pump, made my supper; I then wrapped myself up in my greatcoat, and laid down on the floor, and slept until morning, when on another loaf and a mug of water I made my breakfast. From this regimen I find no inconvenience whatever. Finding I can live in this manner, I have formed a determination never to prostitute my press to the purposes of corruption and abuse of this kind, for the sake of gaining a more comfortable subsistence."

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—PAPER, 1698-1774

[NOTE.—The items in each perspective are representative not exhaustive.]

- 1697, Pa.—First paper-mill in the United States.
 1728 (previous to), N. J.—Paper-mill in operation at Elizabethtown.
 1730, Mass.—Paper-mill erected at Milton or Dorchester (seven miles south of Boston).
 1731 (about), Pa.—Paper-mill a few miles south of Philadelphia on Chester creek. (One authority gives 1714 as the date.)
 1732.—English colonial board of trade report alarm concerning Massachusetts manufacture of paper.
 1737.—Wall-paper advertised.
 1750 (about), Pa.—A paper-mill at Ephrata.
 1760, N. Y.—Paper-hangings and window curtains advertised for sale.
 1765, R. I.—A large paper-mill in or near Providence. Probably at Olneyville. This was successful for only a few years.
 1765-66, N. Y.—Samples of wall-paper of colonial manufacture presented to and for sale by the Society of Arts, Manufacture, and Commerce.
 1767, Eng.—Duties imposed on paper and pasteboard.
 1768, Conn.—Paper-mill at Norwich.
 1768 (about), N. Y.—Paper-mill at Hempstead, L. I.
 1769.—In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware were forty paper-mills.
 1772, Phila.—Parchment manufactured, "Equal or better than imported."
 1774, Mass.—Three small paper-mills.—Perhaps two in New York. Also one in North Carolina, three hundred miles inland (Salem). Year of establishment not stated.

PRINTING

- 1702, N. J.—Printing prohibited except by license. (Printing only by "special license" in all royal colonies.)
 1704.—The first successful newspaper, *The Boston News-Letter*.
 1709, Conn.—Printing begun at New London.
 1712, Pa.—Laws of the colonies printed. (New York laws printed in 1693.)
 1718, Phila.—Bookbinding begun.
 1719, Mass.—Freedom of printing won its first victory. Five printing-presses in Boston.
 1721, Boston.—The *New England Courant* begun by James Franklin.
 1726, Md.—Printing begun at Annapolis.
 1727, Md.—Laws of Maryland printed.
 1728, Pa.—The *Pennsylvania Gazette* started.
 1729, Va.—First printing (Williamsburg). Virginia had suppressed printing in 1682.
 1730, S. C.—Printing begun at Charleston.
 1732, R. I.—The *Rhode Island Gazette* published at Newport.
 1732-33, N. Y.—Freedom of the press a political issue.
 1735, Pa.—First German periodical in America—published at Germantown.
 1735-52, R. I.—A woman printer published the *Rhode Island Gazette* at Newport.
 1740.—Eleven newspapers, weekly, in the colonies. [Boston, five—Pennsylvania, three (one German)—New York, Virginia, and South Carolina, one each.] Size, foolscap. Issue, one sheet or one half-sheet.
 1740 (about), Pa.—Type casting begun, both German and English.
 1743, Pa.—German Bible published (1272 pp. quarto).
 1750, N. Y.—The *New York Mercury* started.
 1751, N. J.—Printing begun at Woodbridge.
 1752 (about), Boston.—First English Bible printed in the United States.—N. J.—The laws of New Jersey printed.
 1754 or 55, N. C.—Printing begun at Newbern.

- 1756, N. H.—Printing begun at Portsmouth.
- 1760.—Brevier type seldom used before this date, although an edition of the Psalms was printed in nonpareil (smaller than brevier) nearly a century earlier, the only specimen of book printing in nonpareil, either in Cambridge or Boston, previous to the Revolution.
- 1761, Del.—Printing begun at Wilmington.
- 1762, R. I.—Printing at Providence. (At Newport, 30 years earlier).—Ga.—Printing begun at Savannah.
- 1762-76, Pa.—Most extensive book manufacture in the colonies, at Germantown.
- 1764, Conn.—Printing begun at Hartford. (At New London, 55 years earlier.)—S. C.—Bookbinding begun.
- 1768, Mass.—Type-foundry at Boston.
- 1769, Conn.—Type made at Killingworth.—N. Y.—Bookbinding begun.
- 1770 (about), Conn.—Type-foundry at New Haven.
- 1771, N. Y.—Printing begun at Albany. (2d press in N. Y.)
- 1773, N. C.—Colonial laws printed.

CHAPTER VIII

MINOR MANUFACTURES

1698-1774

AN earlier division of this narrative carries the record of the establishment and successful operation of sawmills in several of the American Colonies at the close of the seventeenth century. The records of Great Britain show that the mother-country had not reached an equal provision until more than three fourths of a century later. Up to that time, Holland and other countries had provided England with nearly all the sawed lumber she consumed. The first sawmill in Canada was built in 1706 as a ransom from prison.

In the American Colonies, the manufacture of lumber moved steadily forward, and it is due to this fact, in an important sense, that ship-building thrived so successfully. It is a little difficult to understand why the restriction of Queen Anne (1711), reserving all the trees of the public lands of New England, New York, and New Jersey suitable for ship-masts, should have caused so much dissatisfaction among colonial lumbermen. The forests of the New World were so vast, the people so few, and the granting of lands so ready,

that the needful supply of good timber would appear to have been ample for all demands for that early period.

However, it is to be remembered that then as now men did not relish the plan of going far for good things when the going passed by better things. Add to this the fact that lumbermen, like others, hunger for the choicest, and the fact that everywhere the very best trees were reserved, and the situation becomes more comprehensible.

**Mast-
Pines**

While there is ample indication of the rapid increase of sawmills on the streams of New England, anything like data by which the increase can be definitely measured is out of the question. Even if available, it would be meaningless, the numbers and dates are so flood-like and overwhelming. In Maine, where timber was most plentiful, and the streams afforded abundant fall for unmeasurable power, the increase was most rapid. On the Saco river at the lower falls, six miles from the sea, the many little mills sawed annually, before the Revolution, some four million feet of lumber. At Damariscotta, on one stream, were six sawmills within a quarter of a mile. New Hampshire was in this record but a continuation of Maine. In Massachusetts and in Connecticut, even where timber was less plentiful, sawmills were numerous, supplying the multitudinous groups of colonists both on the frontier line and in the many thriving towns.

Progress

Pennsylvania, however, while well provided with grist-mills, was scantily supplied with sawmills.

As late as the close of the first third of the eighteenth century, in Bucks county (adjoining Philadelphia) the framed houses were covered with "nice shaved clap-boards," and "The boards for floors and partitions were all sawed by hand." After the middle of the century, however, mills were plentiful, and Philadelphia even exported some lumber. In the Southern Colonies, tobacco, indigo, and rice shut out nearly all the advantages of manufacture, even of lumber. Virginia and Maryland evidently had a limited product, but the Carolinas (even though encouraged by legislative acts) sawed very little lumber, and Georgia, next to none.

A description of colonial sawmills, written about the middle of the eighteenth century, gives an index of their capacity: They "generally **Capacity** carry only one saw; one boy and man attending. A mill may in twenty-four hours saw four thousand feet of white pine boards; These boards are generally one inch thick and of various lengths, from fifteen to twenty-five feet." Many of these mills were on small streams which dried up or nearly so, in summer, and froze in winter. Therefore the product was chiefly confined to spring and autumn. This description would apply equally well at any date for the frontier of ordinarily timbered sections of the United States (and in fact for well-settled portions), except in those regions, beyond the frontier, where there is a large commercial supply of timber warranting the erection of the great modern lumber factory.

The pioneer of the eighteenth century employed essentially the same methods of preparing corn for

cooking as those of the seventeenth century. Hand-mills and devices of various sorts in the individual homes served by slow and tedious work for breaking up the ripened kernels into "meal," coarse or fine, for the various sorts of corn food. The first step beyond that was often what may be called a pestle-mill, accommodating a few families, grouped within a few miles, each grinding (pounding) his own grist. A log set on end was hollowed out for a mortar. A heavy wooden pestle was suspended above it by means of a spring-pole. The grinder, aided by the spring-pole, gave the pestle an up-and-down motion, pounding the corn in the mortar, into "cracked" for "hominy" or broken finer for "samp," or still finer for "mush" or "pudding" or bread or "pone."

Grist-Mills

Succeeding these, were windmills or "steed" mills (moved by animal power), to which grists were carried on the backs of settlers, sometimes a score of miles or more. Then came the water-mills. The period of land grants to encourage special manufacture had not yet passed. About the middle of the eighteenth century, one John Smith, "the miller," was granted, "throughout all time," the valley in which he lived, along Charles St., Providence, R. I., in case he set up and kept in repair a grist-mill. The first stone lock of the Blackstone canal, located on that mill site, closed the "all time" provision, and put the ancient mill out of business.

In Pennsylvania and Maryland were the most important grist-mills of that period. Each colony had flour inspectors, and the fame of Baltimore and Philadelphia flour was widespread, not only

in other colonies, but in the West Indies where much of their flour was sold. Although, as narrated in the chapter on agriculture, New England had practically abandoned wheat raising, yet the newspapers of Rhode Island, only the year before the Revolutionary War, noted the large amount of flour reaching Providence from the surrounding region, and hazarded an opinion that it might become an article of export. For the next few years, however, the Revolutionary soldiers needed all the flour Providence could spare.

Lumber and flour were not the only mill products of the colonies, as is indicated by the following mid-century reference to a settlement of Germans ("Dumplers") some fifty miles from Philadelphia (probably the "Tunkers" of Ephrata): "Upon a fine stream they have a grist-mill, a saw-mill, a paper-mill, an oyl-mill and a mill for pearl barley, all under one roof, which brings them in considerable profit." These and similar references to certain other small mill products in the eighteenth century are chiefly valuable as indications of the widening diversity of industries already beginning in the Middle and Northern Colonies. Production was as yet of small account.

An earlier division of the narrative ranks New York and New England as considerable producers of leather, and the opening of the eighteenth century brings Pennsylvania into that list. From that time forward, especially in the Middle and Northern Colonies, we may picture each little group of new settlers on the

frontier as quickly provided with its tan-vat. The "practical" knowledge for the ordinary tanning of leather was as readily "picked up" by the "Yankee" of that day as that of many other undertakings. Almost every settlement of even a few families included some one who could not only tan coon-skins and deerskins after the primitive Indian methods (more or less improved), but could also set up a tan-vat on the border of a stream; and as the clearing of farms furnished abundant tan-bark (oak or hemlock) in almost all parts of the country, the neighborhood tannery followed close upon the cabin. The demand for leather was almost as constant as that for cloth and food. Shoes, saddles, harness, and other equipments called for frequent repair and renewal. The leather thus primitively made was quite equal to the imported product, except perhaps that from England, and served the colonists their full necessity. Shoemakers and saddle- and harness-makers were important men, and their shops were found in each village. In the farm localities, not a few of them journeyed from house to house and found ready employment.

Shoemaking began at Lynn, Mass., for export, as early as the middle of the seventeenth century. Little improvement in the product was made for a whole hundred years, when a Welsh shoemaker introduced improvements that at once attracted attention; and a Boston correspondent, ten years before the Revolutionary War, wrote that women's shoes made at Lynn exceeded in strength and beauty any commonly imported from London.

Shoes

Besides the making of leather in its ordinary sense all of the colonies prepared deerskins for clothing.

Buckskin Soft, pliable buckskin for jackets, vests, and breeches formed a regular part of clothing goods in stores. A Philadelphia manufacturer advises the public, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, that "all persons may have their Buck and Doe skins drest after the best manner and at reasonable rates. He also dresses White Leather, and can furnish you with bindings, etc." It is of more than passing interest, to note that buck and doe skins dressed by white men brought a higher price than those dressed by Indians. The Southern Colonies were the largest producers of deerskins at that period, and as deer became scarce in the Northern Colonies the lack was supplied from the South. A considerable part of the product was sent to Europe undressed. One report credits South Carolina as selling to England 200,000 undressed deerskins per year. It is probable that no other branch of manufacture so nearly supplied the need of the colonists at the opening of the Revolutionary War as that of leather production, for it had become, by the adaptability of the "Yankee," an almost universal product, not of villages only, but of multitudes of rural neighborhoods.

The comparative meagerness of historical data regarding the manufacture of brick during the eighteenth century appears somewhat

Brick singular, until one recalls the fact that the new generations of men in America were learning to adapt themselves to their actual surroundings. Wood was abundant, and sawmills had made its

application to building entirely practical even to its taking the place of the dangerous thatched roofs. Stone was abundant for foundations and for chimneys. Lime was easily produced in several localities. Albany was a famous center of brick production, and the Hudson river gave ample and convenient outlet for its product to all colonies. In the beginning of the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the city council of Albany leased to Lykas Hooghkerck, two acres of land "upon y^e gallohill, adjoining and near a small run of water, for y^e term of fifty years, for y^e use of a Brick-kiln and plain, provided he and his heirs and assigns pay therefor to the Freemen of the City 12s yearly and every year, and he doth not stop the roads and passes." Other leases for the same purpose were made at the same time. One, a few years later, provided that "in case a war break out during said term of years, so that they should be molested in their possession of the same, then, during such time of hindrance or molestation, they shall pay no acknowledgement for the same." Quarries of building stone were opened, and practically the colonists were very little dependent upon the use of brick.

To indicate the range of the manufacture of stimulants, little need be added to the record of the seventeenth century, as told in an earlier division of this narrative. The one prominent feature is the increased manufacture of rum in New England. The various local conditions and influences were scarcely changed. Men still craved stimulants; and, opportunity and custom favoring, their thirst was freely gratified. In such rural districts

Drink

as were remote from the villages, if the custom was to brew home-made beer, or to make cider, parry, metheglin, etc., there was a home consumption. In other localities, water was the common beverage. Oglethorpe's brewing in Georgia was an effort to supply beer instead of whisky for his soldiers; but it did not work, although he destroyed all the whisky he could find.

In the manufacture of salt there had been practically no progress. Almost the entire consumption depended upon import from Spain, Portugal, France, the Wine Islands, and the West Indies. It was brought from those countries by colonial ships, on their return voyages. It was in part a ballast cargo, for the goods brought back were not as heavy or bulky as the lumber, fish, and other colonial products carried out. As ballast, its cost of transport was relatively small, to the disadvantage of the would-be colonial manufacturer, and the immediate or present advantage of the current consumer.

One other product of large modern importance, glass, made no real progress until the principle of industrial independence was established by the arbitration of war. The experiments of the seventeenth century had clearly proved that the industrial activities of the colonists could generally be better employed in other lines of production. The records do not appear to represent anything more than the mere existence of the industry, awaiting its time of practical development.

As yet, invention had not made its great arousing

call upon the New Race. Some whisperings had been uttered, and responses had come in the form of suggestive devices, in the main more curious than practical. Three useful inventions have their dates within this period of active germination. Godfrey's quadrant for surveying the heavens to aid the mariner has already been mentioned in the chapter on shipbuilding. Rowland Houghton, a merchant of Boston, invented "the new theodolite," by means of which "land could be surveyed with greater ease and despatch than by any surveying instrument heretofore projected or made within this Province." The General Court granted him a seven-year patent. To these must be added the invention of the rifle, nine years before the middle of the century, by Jacob Deichert of Pennsylvania.

Invention

A wide range of mill products has already been noted in this chapter. A survey of the range of other products brings this fact still more clearly to view. Such wider range is outlined in the perspective. However, as the list is scattered chronologically through the perspective, a grouping of names will obviate the search for the general reader. The following articles were already in actual production:

Diversity

fire engines,	carriages,	tar,
church bells,	saddles,	tobacco,
church organs,	guns,	buttons,
pottery,	rope,	combs,
china,	bayberry wax,	umbrellas,
candles,	glue,	fans, and
street lamps,	potash,	wigs.

Coal mining was begun; and in some colonies systematic provision of work for the very poor was already inaugurated.

Among the many towns which had advanced materially in industrial importance under the awakening spur of the supreme hour, none carries a more striking record than that of Newport, located on the principal island in Narragansett bay. Bishop gives it a population of 3800 white people in 1730, and says:

“From that date to the Revolution, Newport rose rapidly in importance, and became one of the principal seats of opulence and refinement on the continent. Its West India trade was immense. In 1739 upward of one hundred sail of vessels were owned there. Its importations of molasses, at a later period, employed thirty distilleries in the manufacture of rum,—a staple article in the slave trade, which tarnished the fair fame of its enterprising traders. The whale fishery was also prosecuted by the Newport merchants—one of whom, . . . was among the first to send ships to the Falkland Is. This business, about the year 1769, employed seventeen



Narragansett Bay

sperm-oil and candle manufactories in the town, where there were also five or more rope-walks. At this time, when its population was about 12,000, as many as eighteen West India-men were known to arrive in a single day, and there was insufficient room to store its merchandise. It was considered a rash prediction, that 'New York might one day equal Newport.' The port now employed two hundred vessels in foreign trade, and between three and four hundred coasting vessels, and had a regular line of London packets. The town felt the force of English resentment, on account of its early

resistance to government measures, in the destruction of the sloop *Liberty*, stationed in the harbor to enforce the revenue laws, in 1769, and has never recovered its relative rank."

Many other towns, especially in the Northern Colonies, record large progress, and in reading such accounts as were usually written one needs to keep carefully in mind the **Prosperity** teaching of the whole record regarding the true meaning of colonial prosperity during the period under review. There can be no doubt about the prosperity. It was large. It was gratifying to the recipients. Yet it was what we must define as negative prosperity: the gaunt specter, "want," no longer hovered constantly at their doors or sat with them, a frequent guest, at the family board. It was a period of great relief.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—MINOR MANUFACTURES, 1698-1774

NOTE.—Dates in parentheses refer to other entries on the same subject.

NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.

- 1698, N. J.—Brew-houses and bakeries at Burlington. (1714).—Phila.—"Many handsome bake-houses for public use," a result of many flour-mills. (1710.)
- 1699, Phila.—Only two tanyards. (1704.)
- 1704, Pa.—Export of leather and hair-dressed deerskins forbidden. (1699, 1719.)
- 1710, Md.—Water-mills still ask legislative encouragement. (1698, 1721.)
- 1711, Boston.—After the very destructive fire of 1711, houses were much more commonly built of brick. (1728.)
- 1713-22, Conn.—Law passed against gathering bayberry wax before September 10.
- 1714, Mass.—Rum distillery at Boston. (1698, 1721.)
- 1717, New Eng.—Potash profitable by burning forest timber. (1755.)
- 1719, Phila.—Payment ordered "for y^e ffire engine." (1735.) "Good, long Tayern Tobacco pipes" manufactured.—Pa.—Advertisements of runaway servants indicate, usually, leather jackets or breeches. (1699, 1721.)
- 1721, Pa.—An act passed for the regulation of tanning and the manufacture of leather goods. (1699, 1731.)—Mass.—A small village makes 3000 bbl. of cider. (1698, 1730.)
- 1721-22, Pa.—Several bolting-mills are for sale. (1698, 1742.)
- 1728, N. Y.—Lands leased for the manufacture of brick at Albany. (1711, 1742.)
- 1730.—Porter first brewed. (1698, 1735.)
- 1731, Pa.—Export of leather. (1699, 1739.)
- 1732, Va.—Maj. Woodford manufactures sixty hhd. of tobacco per year. (1769.)
- 1734, N. Y. City.—Provision to supply work in manufacturing for the very poor.
- 1735, Phila.—Fire engine made for the city. (1719, 1765.)—Mass.—"The New Theodolite" invented and monopoly of seven years granted by the Court.
- 1735-42, Mass.—Rum distillation fell off two thirds. (1698, 1738.)

- 1736, Conn.—Bell foundry at New Haven. (1770.)
- 1738, Mass.—Rum distillery at Haverhill. (1698, 1739.)
- 1739, Phila.—“The Creek” has six tanneries. (1699, 1770.)
- 1739 (later than), R. I.—Thirty distilleries making rum at Newport. (1698, 1740.)
- 1740, N. J.—Glass manufactured near Salem. (1750.)—Ga.—A large brewery erected by Genl. Oglethorpe. (1698, 1744.)
- 1741, Pa.—Invention of the rifle by Jacob Deichert.—Mass.—Fan-makers in Milk St.
- 1742 (a few years after), La.—A sugar mill. (1698, 1746.)—N. Y. City.—Part of the present (1904) city park leased as a brickyard. (1711.)
- 1743, Mass.—Church organ at Salem made by John Clarke. (1754.)
- 1744, Baltimore.—Brewing begun. (1698, 1747.)
- 1746, R. I.—Land grant “throughout all time” for a grist-mill at Providence. (1698, 1760.)—Pitch, tar, and rosin, staples of the Southern Colonies. (1754.)
- 1747, N. Y.—Large fields of barley near New York, but little near Albany. (1698, 1750.)
- 1748, Mass.—Rope manufactured at Newbury.
- 1750, N. Y. City.—Godfrey’s improved quadrant manufactured.—N. J.—Beer an export from Amboy. (1698, 1760.)
- 1750 (about), Va.—Bituminous coal mines opened in Chesterfield Co. (1765.)
- 1751, La.—Sugar cane introduced.
- 1752, Mass.—Glass and glue manufactured at Boston. (1740, 1762.)—Pa.—Franklin draws electricity from a cloud.
- 1754, N. C.—Tar and turpentine profitable products. (1746.)—Pa.—Lancaster manufactures saddles and pack-saddles.—Mass.—Church organ at Salem made by Theo. Johnston, of Boston. (1743, 1763.)—S. C.—Indentured servants in manufactories leave and take up land.
- 1755, Mass.—Wig-maker robbed. Standards for potash and pearlash. (1717, 1767.)
- 1759, Mass.—Buttons and combs manufactured at Newbury. (1770.)
- 1760, N. Y.—A windmill near “Bowery Lane” for sale.—Phila.—A mustard-mill in operation.—Pa.—Eighty-three grist-mills and forty sawmills in Philadelphia Co. (1698, 1763.)—S. C.—Brewery at Camden. (1698, 1769.)
- 1761, S. C.—Potter’s ware manufactured at Camden. (1770.)
- 1762, Pa.—Manheim glass furnace. (1740, 1769.)
- 1763, Md.—Corn-mills on the Patapsco. (1698, 1765.)
- 1763-66, Phila.—Organ for Christ Church built. (1743, 1766.)
- 1765, Mass.—Chocolate-mill at Dorchester. (1698, 1772.)—Fire engine of home build performed “extremely well” at Boston. (1719, 1768.)—Pa.—Coal vein on fire near Pittsburg. (1750, 1768.)
- 1766 (a few years after), Phila.—Organ built for the German Lutheran Church. (1743.)
- 1767, Boston.—Potash used for soap-making. (1717.)
- 1768, N. Y.—Carriage manufacture begun.—Pa.—Coal used at Wilkesbarre.—R. I.—Coal discovered and Assembly asked for monopoly of product. (1750.)—Phila.—Improved fire engines built in 2d St. (1719, 1773.)—Boston.—“Umbrilloes” made and used.
- 1769 (before), N. J.—Glass factory.—Phila.—Glass lamps and bottles manufactured in High St. (1740, 1770.)—Va.—Tobacco factory in Mecklinburg Co. (1732.)—Ill.—110 hhd of wine from grapes on the Illinois river. (1698.)
- 1770, Pa.—Flint glass manufactory in operation near Lancaster. (1740, 1772.)—Phila.—China-ware factory. (1761.)—Wooden buttons made in Chestnut St. (1759.)—Mass.—A bell foundry at Stoughton. (1736.)—Morocco leather manufactured. (1699, 1771.)
- 1771, Pa.—Tanneries at Lancaster.—Baltimore.—Several tanneries in operation. (1699, 1772.)
- 1772, Del.—Sixty flour-mills in the vicinity of Wilmington. (1698, 1773.)—Phila.—Parchment manufactured. (1699.) “The Glass Facture” and the “South-wark China Factory” advertise for broken flint glass and alkaline salts. (1740.)
- 1773, Phila.—Experimental steam engine made by Christopher Colles. (1719.)—Conn.—A forty-year monopoly of tide-mill operation in Saybrook. (1698.)
- 1774, Boston.—Two hundred or three hundred street lamps erected.

CHAPTER IX

TRADE

1698-1774

JUST as a mighty suspension bridge connects two inaccessible cliffs on either side of a yawning chasm, so does commerce span the great abyss between production and consumption.

**Bridging
the Chasm**

The farmer who produces no more food than his own family consumes finds no gap. A shoemaker who produces no more shoes than are worn by his own family has no need of trade to sell his product. Just as soon as either produces a surplus, the gap begins to open. Just as soon as he produces more than his immediate neighbors need, the gap grows larger, and the producer must go out to find a customer. In the meantime, his production must stop.

While the colonies were beginning, the needs of trade were small. Crude barter at first hand fairly served their scanty need. As the people multiplied, ambition grew, and the naked needs of bare existence changed to the broader needs of a larger life. Then came the growing demands of trade. The best rewards of toil have ever come by subdivision. A hundred producers, who were also their own trade

finders, would lose so much time from production, and so much skill by lack of experience, that they could well afford to pay other men to sell their products for them. Therefore, the merchant came to be. He bought and sold, and sold and bought, and bridged the troublous chasm.

As the colonies grew, trade grew. It was not a simple, easy growth. Complexities arose. Piracy, that gave the merchant mariner a constant hazard of both life and property in the later years of the seventeenth century, still clouded the beginning of the eighteenth. The difference between piracy and privateering at that date was rather one of gradation and opportunity, than of diversity of character. A successful privateer easily graduated into a successful pirate. All the profits in one's own pocket offer strong temptation, especially if the hazard be large. The capture of Captain Kidd served as only a temporary check to a bad but often profitable business.

Very early in the century, the following advertisement appeared in Boston: "Captain Peter Lawrence is going a privateering from Rhode Island in a good sloop about 60 Tuns, and any Gentlemen or Sailors that are disposed to go shall be kindly entertained." Two years earlier, a Quaker, visiting Newport, reported that most of the able-bodied men had "gone off on privateers," such a large fleet had started out. Rhode Island was noted for successful privateering. Her sailors showed exceptional courage, individuality, and originality in that bold, seafaring life. To the credit of colonial privateering stands the fact that it was a fine

training-school for the greater struggle of the Revolutionary War rapidly coming on.

Although privateering offered a strong temptation to piracy, and although the brutal elements of the discharged navies at the close of the naval wars (1713) yielded to the temptation readily and in large numbers, yet finally, by the capture and execution of many of the great outlaws, sea trading became comparatively safe.

In his *Economic and Social History*, Weeden very aptly says that the mainspring of colonial foreign commerce was a fish. In the eighteenth century, it was still the sea that furnished the most readily accessible product for foreign trade, and at that period foreign markets were yet great markets to the American tradesman. The Catholic countries of Europe and of the West Indies were eager markets for fish, and the merchantmen of the seas were expert assorters of good fish for those who could pay the price, and of poor fish for those whose purses did not admit of delicate stomachs.

**A Fish the
Mainspring**

If the sea furnished the mainspring, the forest furnished the driving-wheels of industrial progress. The West India trade in logs and the European demand for the products of colonial sawmills added greatly to the outgoing foreign trade. The sale of ships, as already told in the chapter on shipbuilding, was almost wholly a sale of forest growth. A small, though helpful, element that increased the oversea trading was the growing demand on the part of the more prosperous colonists for articles of luxury, and on

**Driving-
Wheels**

the part of the less wealthy a growing commercial spirit that pervaded the active workers in every calling. Even the women, careful, prudent, and ambitious, made ventures in the foreign ports, sending with outgoing sea-captains, or trustworthy sailors, a little hoard of savings to be used for personal account among the rarities of foreign markets. Each of these bargain-hunters of the eighteenth century added his (or her) mite to the demands that sent those merchant sailormen year after year across the waves to sell and buy at foreign ports.

Many of the details of the colonial foreign trade are of great interest, and some of them are of mighty import. The perspective carries many **Details** useful facts and dates. The general reader as well as the special student will find there some curious things over which to ponder.

An outgoing West India ship carried in its hold almost its full capacity of lumber, fish, and provisions. Perhaps upon its deck was a crowd of horses and oxen grown upon colonial farms. Coming back, the loading was almost wholly sugar and molasses, the latter to be used principally in making rum. If the ship were loading for some European port, in addition to lumber, fish, and breadstuffs, it would probably take tobacco, pitch, tar, indigo, rice, leather, hides, fur, and iron. Coming home, it would bring cloth, tools, Negroes, servants, tea, wine, salt, glass, crockery, furniture, and many curious odds and ends. To name the "goods," and to tell the pounds, and to check the dates, is far from being history.

The coming of a new century did not change English views regarding colonial trade. Although the last of the great European powers to lay severe trade regulations on her colonies, yet England finally bound the chains firmly, and insisted that her American colonists must sell all surplus products in England (or in English colonies), and buy there whatever goods they bought anywhere. How this demand was met has already been told in the chapters on manufactures, for the laws bore quite as sharply on that industrial branch as they bore on trade. The actual effect was almost identical. Hildreth says that in spite of the laws forbidding colonial trade with other countries than England, such trade was as great in its total as that with the mother-country.

**English
Attitude**

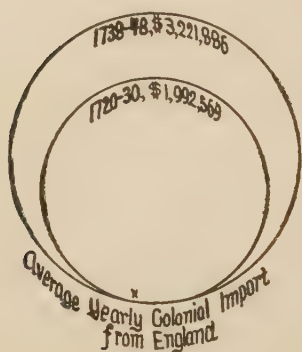
Not all Englishmen sympathized with the attitude of English law toward American industry. More than one proposition that was aimed to cripple colonial trade was delayed or modified or defeated by friends of the colonists in Parliament, or by personal influence with the Crown. In some cases, this friendship was outright, in some it was covert. In some, it was political merely, as in the case of Sir Robert Walpole, who, toward the close of his ministry, wrote:

Friends

“ I will leave the taxing of the British colonies for some of my successors who may . . . be less a friend to commerce than I am. It has been a maxim with me . . . to encourage the trade of the American colonies to the utmost latitude: nay, it has been necessary to pass over some irregularities in their trade with Europe; for by encouraging them . . . if

they gain £500,000, I am convinced that in two years afterward, fully £250,000 of this gain will be in His Majesty's Exchequer . . . as immense quantities of every kind of our manufacture go thither. . . . This is taxing them more agreeably to their own constitution and laws."

Bancroft says that the laws to hamper colonial trade were productive of much irritation among the colonists and fed the spirit of independence, but did not very greatly affect their avowed purpose. The trade was pursued with only an outward disguise, and the duties were not collected. However, the buying of English products steadily increased, as shown by the accompanying diagram.



Of all the Acts of Parliament to control colonial trade to the advantage of British merchants and manufacturers, had they been enforced, none would have wrought more against colonial prosperity than the Molasses Act at the close of the first third of the century. Some of the West Indies belonged to the English, some to the French, and some to the Dutch. They all produced sugar and molasses. They all wished to buy lumber and fish and provisions. The Molasses Act said to the colonists: If you buy sugar and molasses of the French or Dutch, you must pay a large tax: If you buy of the English you will have no tax. But if the colonists bought sugar and molasses of the English West Indies, they must pay for it in

money, because England did not permit the English West Indies to buy lumber, fish, or provisions from the American Colonies. The colonists had little money, and that little they needed to pay for English goods bought in England. In spite of these regulations, however, the trade went right on with the French and Dutch islands, and yet very little tax was collected. How this was managed could be graphically told by a little heap of barren rocks in that region, known as the island of St. Eustatius. It had not an inhabitant, and therefore was neither a French nor



a Dutch port, and yet by some means cargoes of sugar and molasses could be picked up there by colonial ships. The little island of St. Thomas could tell a duplicate story, and a similar tale attaches at an earlier date to Teneriffe, one of the Canaries.

Had they obeyed English laws, the colonies could not have sold tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, fustic, or other dye-woods, sugar, molasses, rice (with some exceptions), furs, copper ore, pitch, tar, turpentine, masts, cocoanuts, whale fins, raw silk, hides, pot- or pearl-ash, to any country except England. At a later date iron and lumber were added to the list. No foreign ships could enter any colonial harbor. Wines imported must pay a tax into the English treasury.

Restrictions

Salt might be imported into New England, New

York, and Pennsylvania, and food, horses, and servants might be brought from Ireland. In all other respects, England was the one country where colonists could sell their products or buy their supplies. They could not sell wool or any of its products to other colonies or even to England. A British sailor, even if in need of clothing, could not buy in the colonies more than ten dollars' worth of woollens. The colonists could not print Bibles for their own use (except in a foreign tongue). They could not make hats. They could not manufacture iron, except to make ore into pigs, and a few pigs into bars. To check other profitable trade, the slave-trade was pushed with eagerness, and English slave-traders were selling thousands of Negroes in the Southern and Middle Colonies.

During the thirty-year war period, England had other matters to claim her more serious attention, and the St. Eustatius and St. Thomas trade continued. The wars out of the way, the debt incurred must be met. Some of the debt was caused by operations in America. Some of the colonies had met their share of the expense, but on the whole there was a shortage against the colonies. To balance that shortage, England proposed to impose a practicable tax.

Accordingly, what is known as the Sugar Act was passed, cutting the tax on sugar and molasses in half. While the Act was under consideration, colonial merchants advised Parliament that the reduction was not sufficient to be practicable. They would prefer to pay a practicable tax rather than carry on an illicit

Revision

**" Sugar
Act "**

trade. Parliament declined to accept the merchants' views, and made provision to enforce rigidly the new Act, and all other trade laws. Alleged breaches were to be decided by a judge whose only income was a share of the fines imposed. The Sugar Act laid taxes on indigo, coffee, wines, silks, and other East India and Chinese goods, and upon calicoes. Notice was also given of an intention to pass the Stamp Act.

This action, from the English viewpoint, was natural, for historians state that the trade of the colonies with the West Indies alone exceeded that with Great Britain, and that much of other trade was not British. As examples: of the one and a half million pounds of tea used yearly by the colonies, only one tenth came from England, and of molasses, only one thirtieth. Added to this, the Writs of Assistance—search-warrants for smuggled goods—had failed to increase English revenues, although they greatly increased the colonial irritation.

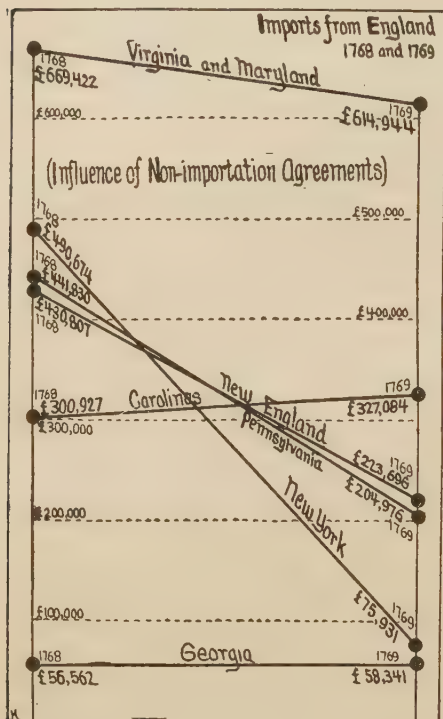
The colonists took a different view. The Sugar Act brought out loud complaints, and when, a year later, the Stamp Act was passed, the storm burst. Every schoolboy is familiar with its history and with the indignant opposition by both colonial and English merchants which caused its quick repeal. That repeal was, however, only a letting go of the hands to take a new and stronger grip, and it carried a clearly uttered threat so to do. That threat was fulfilled a year later in an Act imposing taxes on glass, paper, pasteboard, painter's colors, and tea brought into the colonies. The storm, which had lulled because of the repeal of the

The Storm

Stamp Act, broke out anew in still more effective opposition, remonstrances, petitions, and non-inter-

course resolutions on the part of the colonists.

The purchases of English goods fell off nearly a third in a single year, and again Parliament yielded to the storm by repealing the obnoxious taxes, except that on tea, which was kept merely to assert the right of taxation. Trade with England resumed its normal proportions, about two to one against the colonists: an unsatisfactory con-



dition, for it kept the colonies continually drained of money. Nearly all the specie that they could get by sales of merchandise to Spain and France they had to send to England. The wide range of the relation of import and export, shown in the diagram on page 409, is very interesting.

Three years later, and two years before the War, the tea tax reached its culmination, of which the famous Boston Tea Party is the most familiar phase. The New York Tea Party a year later, though not

famous, just as certainly, put the tea to steep in the waters of Hudson river; and in Charleston, S. C.,

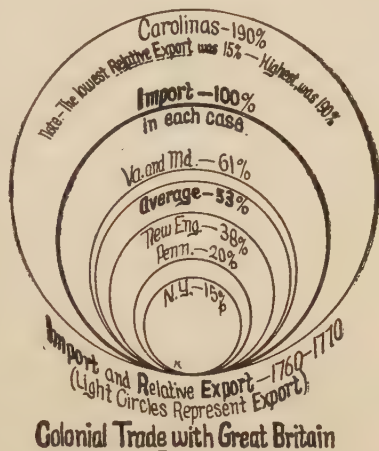
the mildew
Tea Tax

provision
was quite as effective.

In 1774, England sent a naval force to close the port at Boston to all trade. This high-handed military act aroused the colonies as they had never been roused before. Aid was sent to Boston from far and near, and the fires of revolution burned with

a fiercer, though a smoldering heat, ready to burst forth at the first touch of the firing torch.

More important than foreign trade, though less spectacular, especially as history is commonly written, was the intercolonial sea traffic carried on by the multitude of coastwise trading ships. For example: even when Newport was at its best as a trading point, it had many more ships in the coasting trade than in the foreign trade. This important traffic is outlined by Weeden as follows:



Coastwise Traffic

“The little roadsteads—safe havens, nestling in bays and river mouths from Piscataqua and around the cape and Rhode Island, through the sound to Milford Haven—were ever the true abiding places of that strong commercial current which tided in and out of New England, and gave force and direction to the domestic development on shore. The

same coasters, with longer stretch, went on through New York to Virginia and Maryland. Roanoke and the Carolinas were netted in, for naval stores were growing scarce on our (New England) accessible rivers, and the interior was dominated by French and Indian savages. Phipps and other Vikings went across the great deep, but along its shores the skipper mariner carried the same blood, nerve, endurance and skill, in myriads of small voyages, which transmitted into the homely traffic of the land, the grand commerce of the seas."

An interesting phase of this important coastwise trade began about the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and lasted a hundred years. When the fishing craft had completed the fall fishing, they took cargoes of New England merchandise (salt, rum, sugar, or molasses, with a list of iron and woodenware and dry goods, probably also fish on private account of the fishermen) and sailed for the southern coasts. During the winter months, these cargoes were gradually exchanged for corn, pork, pitch, or tar, which were acceptable in New England, either for consumption or to ship to Europe. Returning in early spring, these southern products were disposed of in time for the enterprising mariner-merchant-fishermen to take up their ordinary spring business on their fishing-grounds.

Nor did all this wide and profitable coastwise commerce escape the notice of the mother-country. Laws were passed intended to take control of it and yield revenue to the English treasury. The alert craftsmen commonly either evaded or ignored all such regulations as though they had never been uttered. When, however, the interference went so far as the impressment of colonial coastwise sailors,

the people rose in strong remonstrance, and were sometimes successful in securing the release of the victims of such unjust action.

A value immeasurable by financial standards, resulting from the coastwise trade, was the increased colonial intercourse. These coastwise

sailors were patriotic men whose homes **Colonial Intercourse** shared in the common interests. They

not only carried and brought colonial products, they also carried and brought the views of the leading colonists on the common interests of the colonies. They were messengers of colonial thought as well as traders and carriers of colonial goods. They helped in an important way to weave together the common interests of the colonies. To-day, our railroads bring into personal touch the active men of all the States. Our newspapers, our telegraphs, and our telephones bind together our common interests by interchange of views. Then there were none of these powerful agencies, and the colonial coastwise traders were serving a larger purpose than that of trade alone. They were, all unconsciously, building the foundations of a forthcoming national life, which was to teach new truths among the peoples of the earth.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.—TRADE, 1698-1774

NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.

1698, Mass.—Counselors refused to enforce the "Acts of Trade." "They were too much cramped in their liberties already and they would be great fools to abridge, by a law of their own, the little that was left to them."—Pa. and N. J.—Horses and other live stock, staves and provisions exported to the West Indies.

1698-1713.—Evasion of navigation acts *via* Tenerife.—Southern Colonies bought of New England, rum, molasses, salt, wine, sugar, cider, and sold in return "pork pitch, tar, wheat, corn or what else country produceth."

1699, Eng.—Transportation of domestic woollens from one colony to another forbidden.

- 1699-1702.—Annual exports of all colonies to England about \$1,500,000. Imports nearly the same. Total trade with other countries, partly unlawful, about the same as with England.
- 1699-1709, Va. and Md.—Average annual export of tobacco 29,000,000 pounds, of which England took 11,000,000 pounds, and the rest of Europe 18,000,000 pounds.
- 1700, N. H.—The people "laughed at the orders" not to ship lumber direct to Portugal. —Mass.—Toll-books to tally exportation of horses, which were much exported to the West Indies.
- 1701.—Lords of Trade report that "the independency (commercial) the Colonies thirst after is now notorious."—N. Y.—Iroquois surrender their beaver grounds to the English.—Pa.—Laws against piratical and illicit trade.
- 1703, Eng.—Rice must be exported to England only.
- 1704, Boston.—Capt. Lawrence advertises for privateers.—Pa.—Exporting of leather and deerskins forbidden.
- Early 18th Century, Va.—"Not one market town, not one place of trade. . . . One of the poorest, miserabest and worst countries in all America." Ships from abroad were sometimes obliged to lie whole months before boats could pick up a cargo from the scattered plantations along the river banks.
- 1711, Pa.—First ten months, importation of wine, 68,000 gal. Rum, 383,000 gal.
- 1713, Miss.—A trading post established at Natchez.—N. Y.—Fur-trading treaty with the Five Nations and Tuscaroras. Trading post established at Oswego.
- 1713-28, Boston.—Municipal wheat and bread trade.
- 1713-45.—Salt comes largely from Spain and Portugal.—New Eng.—Next to fish and vessels the most important export is large logs. The demand for unsawed logs, especially from Portugal and Spain, is important.—Coastwise trade more important than foreign.
- 1714, New Eng.—West Indian trade extensive.—Tenn.—Trading post at Nashville.
- 1714-17.—An average import from England of nearly \$2,000,000. Exports, nearly \$1,700,000. Domestic trade equals that with England. Other foreign trade nearly \$4,000,000.
- 1717, Mass.—Trade employs 492 ships. At Boston, a book auction.
- 1717-23.—Piracy in commerce suppressed.
- 1718, N. Y.—No foreign vessel in New York harbor in eight years preceding.—S. C. and W. I.—Coast piracy suppressed.—Va.—"Blackbeard" killed and seventeen of his pirates hanged.
- 1721, Phila.—A correspondent writes that the sails and rigging for his new ship coming from England had escaped the pirates. Hops imported from Massachusetts Beer exported to Georgia.—S. C.—A treaty of commerce with the Creeks.
- 1728, Va.—The abuse of the tobacco laws of 1726 by planters on the disputed territory between Virginia and North Carolina probably hastened the settlement of the boundary line.
- 1729, Pa.—Export of flaxseed, 250 hhd.; 1750, 6000 hhd.; 1752, 10,000 hhd; 1771, 15,000 hhd; 1772, 12,000 hhd.; 1773, 9500 hhd.
- 1730, New colonial exports, 5300 lb. of hemp; 300 lb. of raw silk; iron, copper ore, and beeswax.—Eng.—Rice liberated from "enumerated articles."
- 1730-33, Conn.—"New London Society of Trade and Commerce" prosperous and New London builds many ships.
- 1731, Mass.—Trade employs six hundred ships. (Tonnage, 38,000.)—Phila.—Hand-made nails on sale.—Pa.—Export of leather recorded.
- 1731-32, Eng.—High price of labor in America gave to England 20% advantage on linen cloth trade.
- 1731-74, Md. and Va.—Export to England, 2000 to 3000 tons of pig-iron per year.
- 1732, Eng.—Hats and woollens not to be sold to another colony.
- 1733, Eng.—Molasses Act: Twelve cents a gallon on molasses from French or Dutch West Indies, because previously the colonies imported from there *free*.—New Eng.—Sugar imported from French Islands, thus evading enumerated articles provision.

- 1734, Va.—Import duty on Negroes payable by buyer.—N. H.—Market and fair days in May and October at Hampton Falls.
- 1740, Boston.—Faneuil Hall given to Boston for a town market.
- 1741, New Eng.—A "thousand sail" of ships engaged in trade.—S. C.—Indigo exportation from Charleston, 100,000 lb.
- 1744-47.—Average yearly colonial export of tobacco, 40,000,000 lb.—only 7,000,000 to England.
- 1746, Boston.—Wheat supplied for needy persons.
- 1747, S. C.—Charleston exports 10,356 lb. of tanned leather and 720 hhd. of deerskins.
- 1748.—Is. of St. Thomas and St. Eustatius are used for loading produce forbidden by England from European and from French, Spanish, and British West Indian ports.
- 1750, N. J.—Beer and barley are exported from Amboy.—S. C.—Flour exporting to the West Indies begun, as from Baltimore or Philadelphia.
- 1750-53, Ga.—Export of silk, \$8880.
- 1754, S. C.—Charleston exports 4196 tanned hides, 1200 in hair, and 882 hhd. of deerskins.—Ga.—4508 lb. of indigo exported. In 1772, 55,380 lb.
- 1754-62, Ga.—Exports 9829 lb. of silk.
- 1755, Mass.—Exportation of provisions prohibited except to British colonies.
- 1755 and 72, Ga.—Exports of tanned leather, 3250 lb. and 52,126 lb. Deerskins 50,000 lb. and 213,000 lb.
- 1756, N. C. and S. C.—Export of indigo, 500,000 lb.
- 1759, Pa.—Carolina and Pennsylvania leathers both advertised in Philadelphia.
- 1760-74, New Eng.—The trade of the colonies is greater with the West Indies than with Great Britain.
- 1760-75, New Eng.—Unmerchantable cod exported to the West Indies to exchange for sugar and molasses.
- 1761, Boston.—Resistance to the use of writs of assistance.
- 1763 (and a few years preceding), Phila.—Four hundred ships yearly loaded with Pennsylvania produce.
- 1763, Mass.—15,000 hhd. of molasses imported—(only one third from British ports).
- 1763-70, Amer. Colonies.—Average export of tobacco, 67,500,000 lb.
- 1763-74.—Of 1,500,000 lb. of tea per year consumed in the colonies but one tenth came from England.
- 1764, Eng.—"Sugar Act" imposes new duties and announces a "Stamp Act" to follow.
- 1764-74, Va.—Annual export 800,000 bu. of wheat and 600,000 bu. of corn.
- 1765, Phila.—Export of lumber, 783,000 ft. and a tenfold value of staves, heading, and shingles.
- 1765, Phila. and New York—Merchants bind themselves to send no new orders for goods, to cancel orders already made, and to receive no goods on commission unless the "Stamp Act" be repealed.—N. C.—Rice taken from list of enumerated articles. Bounties offered on importations into England of lumber from the colonies. Colonial iron and lumber granted entrance to Ireland, and lumber to Madeira, Azores, and Southern Europe.
- 1766, N. Y.—Exports: 532 t. of bar-iron, 500 t. of pig-iron, 80 t. of copper ore.—Pa.—Imports from Great Britain, £500,000. Exports to Great Britain, £40,000. (See diagram above.)
- 1767, Eng.—New colonial import duties laid. (The Townshend Act.)—Boston.—Freeholders and others declare for non-consumption of imported goods.
- 1768, Boston.—Merchants renew their agreement not to import from England.



- 1768 and 69, Eng.—British exports to the colonies fall off nearly one third under the influence of the taxation act of 1767. (See diagram in text.)
- 1769, Md.—45,868 tons of flour and bread exported from Baltimore.
- 1770, Eng.—Import taxes of 1767 repealed except on tea.—All Col.—Export of wheat, 851,240 bu.; corn, 578,349 bu.; bread, flour, and meal, 485,868 bbl.—Colonial export to Great Britain, \$4,493,150.—Import, from Great Britain, \$8,549,749.—Export of cotton: New York, 3 bales; Virginia and Maryland, 4 bales; North Carolina, 3 barrels.
- 1770-75.—Annual export of indigo, 1,000,000 lb.
- 1771, New Eng.—*Great* trade rivalry.—Mass.—Tonnage cleared, 70,284 tons; entered, 65,271 tons, much of that extra 5000 tons was ships sold to other countries (about fifty ships annually.)—N. H.—Ships entered, 15,362 tons.—cleared, 20,192 tons.—Excess, largely sales.
- 1772, Ga.—Exportation of indigo, 55, 380 lb.
- 1772-74, Phila.—Average yearly exportation of iron 2042 tons; of beer, 1476 bbl.; of leather, 32,797 lb.; of lumber, 3,036,000 ft.
- 1772-75, Am. Col.—Average yearly exportation of tobacco, 99,400,000 lb.
- 1773, Mass.—The Boston Tea Party.
- 1774.—Congress passes a non-import, and a non-export act and discontinues the slave trade.—S. C.—Charleston declares for a Congress to regulate commerce.—Boston Harbor is blockaded.—Eng.—Colonial export of military stores (powder, guns, etc.) is prohibited.
- Before the Revolution.—Usually only two or three booksellers, even in Boston, at any given date.

CHAPTER X

TRANSPORTATION

1698-1774

TRADE has been likened to a great suspension bridge spanning the chasm between producer and consumer. However, without the means of transportation and the actual carrying of the products, the bridge is useless. Both the bridge and the transportation were very small affairs two hundred years ago, but they were important as beginnings of what are now mighty industries, and they were already of large value to the colonists of that early day.

To focus the picture aright, we must remember that as yet the sea paths were almost the only routes from colony to colony, and the rivers and creeks almost the only highways from town to town. It took ten days for news to travel from Boston to New York. A ship could make two trips to England in a year, but it was seldom done. In the newer settlements, even up to the Revolutionary War, transportation was exclusively by pack-horses. As the Indian trails were widened and modified for the use of wagons, it was the slow-moving, cumbersome four-ox, or four-horse wain that took the place of the pack-horses.

In Virginia, the tobacco growers invented a unique method of transportation, briefly described as follows: Hogsheads made of strong oak staves were packed by means of a lever thirty or forty feet long, inserted in a mortise made in a tree. When thus very solidly packed and firmly headed, a hole was bored in the center of each head, and a stout wooden spike was driven into the solid tobacco about half the length of the cask, with the outer end projecting several inches. Shafts made of saplings were loosely fitted to these projecting ends. On these shafts, in front of the cask, slabs were nailed to carry a frying-pan, a hoe, an axe, a blanket, and a box of provisions. As the mule, horse, or ox hitched between the shafts pulled, the cask rolled, the ends of the stout wooden spikes revolving in the loose shaft-fittings. In this way, the casks were literally rolled to market through mud, mire, and streams on their hoops and staves. If the distance was great (50 or 100 miles), rough felloes were spiked to each end of the cask to take the wear off the hoops. The driver, usually the owner, was called a roller, and he never sought shelter, even though the journey took several days, but camped at night by the wayside. The lighter load of supplies received in exchange for the tobacco was easily hauled home by the same shafts, their rear ends dragging over the rough ground. Because of this rolling of the tobacco to market, the warehouses where it was stored were called rolling-houses. This mode of transportation was in use until the beginning of the nineteenth century. It naturally tended to the making of larger

Tobacco
Rolling

and larger casks, and the capacity was gradually increased from 350 pounds to three, and in some cases to five, times that weight.

We may well understand that so simple, effective, and inexpensive a mode of reaching the market was in use wherever the lands were sufficiently level to permit of its adoption, whether in Virginia or elsewhere. This unique Southern scene of rolling tobacco casks, sometimes singly, sometimes in groups, over the long stretches of tide lands, with their frequent creeks and miry places, is matched by the great lumbering Northern wains, hauled by four or six oxen, shaken and jolted as their wheels crossed the big tree roots which still cumbered the roughly widened Indian trails, or dropped into some deeply gullied rut until at times the load was overturned, or again was wholly stalled in some miry spot which had not yet been corduroyed. Through long stretches of solitary forests, these great, cumbersome wagons carried their freights from farm to market, and their lighter return loads of store goods, mail, and sundries.

Within the first quarter of the seventeenth century, some of the creeks and smaller rivers in the more compactly settled regions were bridged, and in case of wider streams ferries were established. At the close of the first decade, the pathways leading to the capital of Maryland were to be followed through the woodlands only by notches cut on trees,—“blazed” pathways, as they were called. In the newly opened regions of Illinois, there was not even a beaten pathway, and the streams must all be forded

**Land
Routes**

or waded, as there was neither boat, ferry, nor bridge. A few years later (1716), a trade route was opened between the Miami and the Wabash in Ohio; and Virginia opened a way for emigration across the Blue Ridge. These were mere "blazed" pathways to guide the passing stranger. A year later, Connecticut granted a seven-year privilege for wagon transportation between Hartford and New Haven. There must, therefore, have been some sort of a wagon-road between those two points. Four years later, there appears the record of an "express" from Boston to Newport, carrying "bundles of goods, merchandise, books, men, women, and children, money, etc." The following year recorded the first trip of a team from Connecticut to Providence, and seven years before the War of Revolution a wagon express made the trip from New York to Philadelphia in two days and was known as a "Flying Machine." These few records as well indicate the general land transport of the first quarter of the eighteenth century as though they were greatly multiplied. And for frontier life, the cruder provisions were the constant conditions. Near the coasts, passable roads, and on some of the larger streams, bridges and ferries improved the carrying facilities. Stage and post routes were opened, some of which are noted in the perspective following. The most important of these is that from New York to Boston, about the close of the first third of the century. We may not, however, forget the positive discomforts of those early stage trips. Novelists have invested them with fairly correct conditions. The many stretches of poorly made and poorly

mended earth roads, the ordinary happenings of storm and mud, of heat and cold, the hazards of breakdowns, and other interruptions made it anything but a pleasant trip. Twelve years before the Revolutionary War a ferry was established between New York and Paulus Hook (Jersey City).

In the larger towns, carriages were coming into use. Boston had a hackney coach when the century was but twelve years old, and six-

Carriages
teen years later advertised a "coach and three able horses to any place passable for a coach." About the close of the first third of the century, Boston "gentry" have "coaches, chaises, etc." Ten years before the middle of the century, their ladies "took the air" in a chaise or chair drawn by one horse, driven by a Negro servant. "Gentlemen" also rode in chairs or on horseback with Negro lackeys in attendance. Shortly after the middle of the century, Charlestown and Haverhill tax lists carry a good supply of carriages. At the same period, however, Judge Kimble's chaise attracted much curious attention by the people of Wells, Maine, which he had managed to reach.

Under the preceding titles, Shipbuilding, Fishery, Trade, water transportation is so fully treated as to leave a mere summary of develop-

Water
Routes
ment to this part of the narrative. It is enough to say, therefore, that the invention of the schooner, the great expansion of the whaling industry, and the increasing demands of intercolonial trade multiplied the white-winged transports on the sea paths rapidly, and lighthouses began to be built at the more dangerous points.

The increase of ocean and river transport was not without friction and jealousy. When the eighteenth century was only four years begun, independent little Rhode Island said to all ships of other colonies: If you wish to do business in any of our ports, you must pay a tonnage tax. This act of discrimination in favor of home industry was copied by New York, Massachusetts, and other colonies at varying dates. In some cases, the principle took precisely the Rhode Island form; in others it took the form of absolute prohibition of the transport of certain articles. Even England made just such a discrimination against colonial ships from the West India islands. The people of Salem, Mass., charged non-residents a fourfold tax for the privilege of drying fish. This principle, wisely applied, nearly quadrupled the sea transportation of the new-born American nation in a very few years, but that story belongs to a later time. This principle of legislating through transportation, for the local advantage of a particular community or the general advantage of a nation or people, has played a large part in the world's industrial experience from that period to the present day.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—TRANSPORTATION, 1698-1774

[NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.]

1699, Eng.—Transportation of domestic woollens to another colony forbidden.

1701, N. Y. and Boston.—Ten days for news to travel.

1704, R. I.—Tonnage duty on all ships not of Rhode Island.

1705, Va.—Law forfeiting all Carolina tobaccos offered for sale on Virginia territory.

1707 or 1709, N. Y.—Tonnage duty on all ships not of New York.

1709. —Boston and Charlestown cleared 1000 ships yearly.

1710, Md.—Paths (roads) to the Capital marked by blazed trees.

1711, Ill.—“No beaten path, no ferry, no boat, no bridge.”

1712, Conn. and R. I.—Bridge over the Pawcatuck R. —Boston.—First hackney coach.

—Va.—“Rolling-houses” established.

1712 (?), Boston.—Lighthouse erected.

- 1713, R. I.—Bridge over the Blackstone river at Pawtucket.
- 1715, N. Y.—Discriminating tonnage duties, in favor of N. Y. ships.
- 1716, Va.—Route "blazed" across the Blue Ridge for emigration.—Ohio.—Trade-route "blazed" between the Miami and the Wabash.
- 1717, Conn.—Seven-year privilege of a wagon from Hartford to New Haven.
- 1718, Mass.—Tonnage tax on all ships not of Massachusetts.—Duty laid on transportation of English manufactures (negatived by the king).
- 1721, Mass. and R. I.—"Express" from Boston to Newport, carrying "bundles of goods, merchandize, books, men, women and children, money, etc."
- 1721-43, N. H.—Several ferry privileges granted.
- 1722, Conn. and R. I.—First "team" (probably oxen) from Connecticut to Providence.
- 1723, Md.—Import of wheat, grain, malt, beer, etc., from Pa. or Del. forbidden.
- 1727, N. Y. and Conn.—Post-rider from New York to Saybrook each two weeks.
- 1728, Boston.—Coach and three horses advertised, "to any place passable for a coach."
- 1729, Va. and Md.—Tobacco export requires nearly 300 sail of ships.
- 1730, Conn.—Sloop *Endeavor* "supposed to be run away with."
- 1731-74, Va. and Md.—Pig-iron shipments to England, 2000 to 3000 tons per year.
- 1732.—A stage route, New York to Boston.—"Gentry" have chaises, etc., in Boston.
- 1733.—Eng. Enacted that no American-made hat could be transported or even loaded for transportation to any point whatever.—Conn.—Ship of 550 tons built at New London sails for Lisbon, Spain.—S. C.—200 to 300 ships sail per year.
- 1735, Eng.—Discriminating duty laid against colonial ships transporting goods from the W. I. Islands.
- 1736, Boston.—A line of stages to Newport.—Ga.—A horse-path through the woods from Savannah to Augusta, more than 100 miles.
- 1737, N. Y.—Shipping: 3215 tons; 1747, 4313 tons; 1749, 6406 tons.—Pa.—Petition for a road from the borough to the Coventry iron-works on French creek, with a branch to Redding's furnace, then building on the same creek.
- 1739, Boston.—Pilot fees and insignia regulated by law. For over 20 years there had been competition between the lighthouse-keeper and others.
- 1740, Boston.—Chaises and "chairs" used by the wealthy, attended by Negro lackeys.
- 1742, N. J.—A small foreign trade. Nearly all European goods shipped by way of N. Y. and Pa., in exchange for New Jersey products shipped into those States.
- 1743, Ga. and S. C.—Pathway from Palachicolas on the Savannah R., nearly due east to Charleston, about 80 miles. Also from Savannah, nearly S. W. (50 m.) to Darien on the Altamaha R.
- 1745, New Eng.—One thousand ships besides fishing craft, in the transportation service.—R. I.—Weybosset bridge-building aided by a lottery.
- 1748, W. Indies.—Islands of St. Thomas and St. Eustatius, shipping points for evading English transportation laws.—N. Y. and Phila.—Shipping almost equal.
- 1749, N. Y.—Shipping: 6406 tons (157 ships), 1228 seamen.
- 1750, Pa.—"Durham boats" on Pennsylvania rivers.
- 1753, Md.—Lottery in Baltimore to raise 450 "pieces-of-eight" to build a wharf.
- 1753-57.—Tax-lists in Haverhill and Charlestown show many carriages of various sorts.
- 1754, Md.—Tonnage tax on all ships not of Maryland.
- 1755, Me.—Judge Kimble's chaise a great curiosity at Wells (28 m. S.W. of Portland).
- 1756, Conn.—Toll-bridge at New Milford.
- 1763, N. Y.—Ferry begins to Paulus Hook (Jersey City).
- 1764, R. I.—352 ships in the coasting trade.—N. J.—Lighthouse at Sandy Hook.
- 1766 or 67.—Express from New York to Philadelphia (2 days), "Flying-machines."
- 1768, N. Y.—Carriage manufacture begins.
- 1768-71, Mass.—Lighthouses at Plymouth Harbor and Thatcher's Island.
- 1770-71, Md.—Tonnage entered (Annapolis), 30,477 tons: cleared, 32,474 tons. (Until 1780 all shipping entered and cleared at Annapolis.)
- 1771, Pa.—Tonnage entered, 50,901 tons: cleared, 49,654 tons. Colonial ships, about $\frac{3}{4}$; of foreign ownership, about $\frac{1}{4}$.
- 1772 Mass.—Stage coach between Boston and Providence.

CHAPTER XI

FINANCE

1698-1744

THE eighteenth century, as already noted, stands out in eminent prominence, in colonial history, as the era of the world's greatest agricultural experiment, and the era of America's manufacturing emancipation. To these two remarkable records must be added a third, no less important, no less far-reaching in its effects, and one without which the other two had been impossible,—the era of emergence from financial thralldom.

The industrial struggle of the seventeenth century was greater than can be told, for the warriors in the battle were fettered hand and foot. However valiantly they fought, however successfully they produced, there was no free channel of movement for their products. Every avenue was as yet clogged by the crude barbarism of barter.

Taxes were yet to a large extent paid in first-hand products, and colonial treasurers had yet to keep granaries and cattle-pens in which to receive taxes, and from which to disburse the payments of public debts. Ship-owners, carrying on a trade in large part forbidden by England,

**Emancipa-
tion**

Barter

brought home almost the sole supply of money. Most of this came from Spain in silver coin. A large part of this coin the ship-owners paid to merchants of the various ports for products with which to load their ships for the next outgoing voyage. Nearly all the specie that the merchant received he had to send to England to pay for goods imported from there,—more than £30,000,000 according to Lord Sheffield, in the eighteenth century, previous to the Revolutionary War. Very little money found its way into the hands of the farmers, the lumbermen, or the fishermen. So scarce was it, and so desirable to keep it within colonial circulation, that Massachusetts passed a law that no person could carry out of the colony more than £5 of coin or bullion for personal expenses.

Whatever products the colonists sold to their local merchants were paid for in merchandise from the merchant's store. So far, then, the course of trade was as yet almost entirely pure and simple barter. It differed from first-hand barter in the fact that the merchant bridged the chasm between the producer and consumer by means of a second-hand barter. This was a positive improvement, for it gave the producer and consumer a place, and a comparative certainty of quick exchange for such articles as each produced. And it is to be kept in mind that then, as now, each worker was a producer.

This truth cannot be too often stated or too strongly emphasized in the consideration of financial problems. To put it in homely phrase: One man produces food, another lumber, another cloth, and

so on; but the large majority produce what we commonly call labor. In one case, it is muscular labor, and, in another, mental labor. In **Production** either case, it is as actual and real a product as food, or cloth, or iron; and in each case it has its financial value just the same as have the other products.

The demand, the fundamental need for the broad recognition of this fact, in the adoption of a common medium of exchange, was stirring the foundation of colonial industry at the opening of the eighteenth century. To quote the value of a bushel of corn at 75c. Spanish coin, and then to pay the producer a measured strip of cloth stated to be of the value of 75c. was not always satisfactory. To quote a day's labor at 75c. Spanish coin, and then to pay the producer of that labor a bushel of wheat stated to be of the value of 75c. was not always satisfactory. Therefore, there was growing, with insistent clamor, a demand for some sort of universal medium of exchange. The farmer and his workmen, the lumberman and fisherman with their workmen, the iron-master and the ship-builder with their workmen, and all others who offered their products for sale were hungering to be paid in some common medium of exchange.

Without this provision, production must lag in its development. The producer was not only dissatisfied with taking goods instead of money; he was handicapped in the opportunity to increase his production, by the fact that he could personally use only a limited amount of such goods as he could receive in exchange for his product.

To put it another way: The farmers and manufacturers of New England and the Middle Colonies, and the planters of the Southern Colonies, were all hungering for a provision by means of which they could quickly and conveniently exchange a large product, and the producer of labor was hungering for larger employment, to be paid for in money, instead of in "cats and dogs." Each one had come to believe that if payment for production could be had in money there would be a steady and ready market for his particular product. With money they believed they could go forward. Without money they saw no such thing as active development. Even their merchants, who made a business of exchanging products, could only go so far as the local demands of their improved system of barter permitted. For example, they could buy only so much lumber from any one lumberman as was the equivalent of the cloth, provisions, and other merchandise which that lumberman could consume or himself immediately barter for something else that he needed. Therefore, each lumberman's market was limited to an equivalent of his personal family consumption of such merchandise as the local merchant could furnish in exchange.

Population was rapidly increasing. That meant both increased producing and increased consuming power. Merchants could meet only in part the increased demands of trade. The bonds of barter confined their operations within narrow limits. Transportation stood ready to accommodate any increase of trade.

**Common
Medium**

**Missing
Link**

The one missing link of the chain of industrial completeness was the lack of a common medium of exchange. Production, consumption, trade, transportation: these were the four good fingers of a strong right hand. What was needed to make these four good fingers practically useful was a great financial thumb against which they could grasp with confident force in their effort to hold and to handle every industrial problem that came within their reach.

A maxim of the period was: It is the duty of government to provide a currency for trade. This was their belief. This was their demand.

Demand One by one the colonial governments gave heed. They had few mints, and they had no productive mines of silver or gold, therefore they could make little coin. This, however, seemed no barrier to their plan. Paper money was in use as well as coin. For a government to call a piece of metal money made it money. To call any other convenient article money would make it money also. This was the theory of the demand, as it has been the theory of many a later demand, whose actual operation brought the same disappointment as came to these eighteenth-century colonists.

Paper money was issued, not only against the advice of the mother-country but against her commands, even as many other colonial operations were performed, and had been performed by those same colonists who were fast growing to the position of claiming the right to use their own judgment and their own power in all things appertaining to their own affairs.

**Colonial
Attitude**

This fact was keenly recognized by many English officials in colonial offices. For example: Governor Hunter of New York, at the close of the first decade of the eighteenth century, wrote to England that the colonies were then "infants at their mothers' breasts, but such as would wean themselves when they came of age," and they were coming of age faster than even Governor Hunter, with his daily life cast among them, dreamed.

The story of this widespread experiment is best told in general terms, seeking a broad basis for final judgment as to its real results for better

Issues

or for worse. First, then, we have the broad fact that large issues of paper moneys were made. The conditions and terms of issue differed at different times and in different colonies. In their main features, as effecting results, and accomplishing the intentions of the people, they were unifying parts of one great whole. Whether the issues were made under the name of a "bank" or of "bills of credit," or under some other name did not change the nature of their use as a circulating medium of exchange. Whether they were loaned to the planters at a stated rate of interest, to be repaid at specified dates, or whether they were issued only in payment of government obligations, or in whatever way they passed into circulation made no important difference in the general results.

The failure of the planters to repay the loans at maturity, and the inability of colonial treasurers to redeem direct issues by payment of coin, shortly produced a depreciation of values. In some colonies this depreciation was greater than in others, and

as an attempted remedy some colonies restricted issue, while others increased it.

Whatever the ratio of depreciation, whatever the volume of the issue, neither changed the fact that the demand for a common medium of exchange was supplied. Though it circulated at a depreciated value, yet it circulated; and therefore, to some extent, performed the function for which it was designed. To the masses it was of little importance whether they received one, two, or more pieces of paper in exchange for their product. To have something to carry conveniently with them as an equivalent of their product, and which would at any time purchase other products, was the one great need, and that need was met.

So much for the fact that the issue of paper money supplied the demand of the people and gave them an actual universal medium of exchange, thereby removing the handicap of barter. It now remains to examine the ordinary historical phases of this important accomplishment. The colonies had passed by a single bound, as it were, from the hampered condition of barter into the freedom of industrial development. The result, as testified by all historians, was exactly that which was sought, namely: industrial prosperity.

In spite of much disturbing war, in spite of much disturbing legislation by the English Parliament, in spite of the imperfections of the common medium of exchange itself, historians all agree, and agree emphatically, that the eighteenth century previous to the Revolutionary

Prosperity

War was an era of great industrial prosperity in the colonies. This broad fact must be kept in mind to prevent distorted judgment through the consideration of the minor matters to follow.

These minor matters would not be presented but for the fact that as ordinarily considered they are of essential value in the record. Were they omitted, this present account would

Details

be incomplete. Therefore, the details of issue and of depreciation must not be wholly ignored. For the general reader, a few illustrations will be more acceptable than an overwhelming flood of figures and dates. For example: the beginnings of issue in the great colony of Massachusetts are statistically as follows: Before 1702, £110,000. During 1702, £10,000. In 1706, £10,000. In 1707, £22,000. In 1708, £10,000. In 1709, £60,000. In 1710, £40,000. In 1711, £65,000. These items with many others are given in the historical perspective at the close of this chapter for the use of chronological and statistical readers.

To burden the general narrative with such a mass of figures and dates not only obscures the historical value, but makes it almost impossible to give a clear view of results. Therefore, it is sufficient to say that while some colonies issued large amounts of paper money under different names and plans, others issued comparatively small amounts. Some began the issue at the threshold of the century, others not until many years later. In each and in every case paper money provided an actual common medium of exchange, which was the real demand of the people, and in every case it removed from industrial

development the handicap of barter. In some instances the result was more advantageously accomplished than in others, but the important historical fact remains that the desired result was effectively accomplished. The prisoner's bonds were broken, and the industrial captive was set free.

Of relatively small industrial importance, but of large ordinary interest, is the general historical fact of the depreciation of this great mass of paper money issued by the colonies, and the ratio of such depreciation. To hold that the depreciation was of small importance would be rank historical heresy. How little the depreciation really meant in actual practice may be judged by the fact that about the middle of the second decade, Massachusetts discontinued its issues, and began their redemption. The decreased volume at once increased in value, yet there came from the colonists so strong a demand for an increased issue that the government gave way and issued the larger volume demanded, in spite of its depreciation.

To understand why depreciation, in actual operation, was relatively of small importance, it is helpful to call to mind just how the money was used. A poor man receives pay for his day or week of labor or for his few bushels of corn. The money which he receives is circulating at a discount of, say, 10%, 20%, or 50%. If at 50%, he receives twice as much money as though it were circulating at par. He immediately buys clothing or other necessities, for a poor man cannot hold money long. He pays out his money at the same ratio of depreciation at which he received it, and is

**Deprecia-
tion**

**Poor and
Rich**

therefore neither gainer nor loser because of depreciation. A rich man, on the other hand, in the usual course of events, holds more or less money in his possession at all times. During the time he holds it a depreciation may take place, and he may be a loser. Ordinarily, however, even the rich man's loss is cut up into small portions: a bit on one purseful of money to-day, another bit next week or next month on another lot. He takes it in at a discount of, say, 20%; before he pays it out it has dropped in value one or two per cent. more. The depreciation has been gradual. Fiat money seldom rises in value, and is therefore almost always in favor of the debtor class, an important consideration in all economic history.

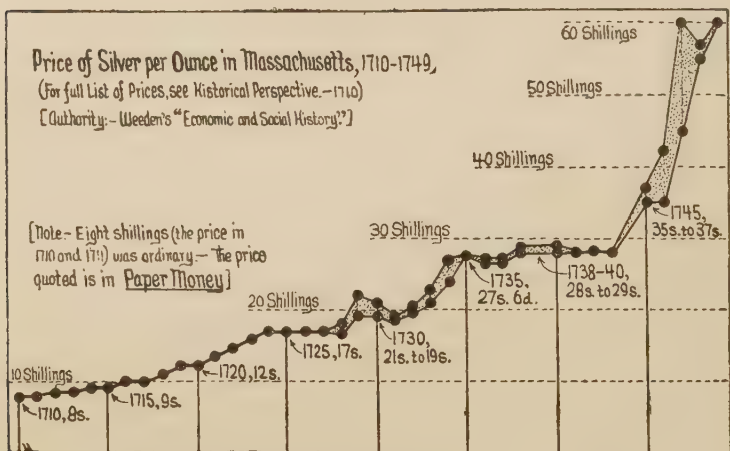
These two illustrations cover broadly the whole use of the paper money. Exceptional cases contradict general facts in all matters, but they do not disturb general truths. It was the rich then, for the greater part, who suffered the losses. However, even with the rich the advantage of a common medium of exchange was so great as largely, if not fully, to compensate for the small losses with their annoyances. As a side light of no slight value, is the fact that through all this flood of depreciation the price of land fluctuated but little.

The rate of depreciation is best represented by a picture of the appreciation of silver, and this is graphically given up to the middle of the century, in the diagram on page 432.

**Specie
Basis**

After that date there was less change, Massachusetts adopted a specie basis and its paper money "amid much gloom and doubt, was redeemed,

at a rate about one fifth less than the current value." However, although the volume of her money was greatly decreased, she still retained the one important thing: a circulating common medium of exchange—money instead of barter. Other colonies modified their issues. Industry, while adapting itself to the new conditions, still advanced.



Occasionally, so great difficulty was found in obtaining even the paper money, that taxes were adjusted by barter. In the main, however, the bonds were absolutely broken.

Summary

In the main, as the Revolutionary War approached, all of the colonies were using an actual, practical, common medium of exchange, and industry was at its best prosperity in those later years. In the main, each man carried in his pocket-book the price received for his product, instead of carrying it in his wagon-box or on his pack-horse, or driving it along the rude forest path to be a charge for food and

care at the journey's end. In the main, every man could buy with the contents of his pocket-book such other products as he wished. In the main, the shackles of trade were broken, and colonial industry had entered the open highway of practical progress on land and sea.

Briefly told, this is the story of colonial economic emancipation. There are side lights that are helpful. Many of these are to be found in the historical perspective at the close of this chapter. Items are there given representing wages and prices, those tantalizing yet almost fruitless figures with which theorists delight to juggle. Reference is there made to the wealth of the few and to the poverty of the many. Financial data concerning export, import, suffrage, debt, insurance, inheritance, lotteries, and Indian scalps are scattered through the record. The introduction by England of a greatly beneficial post-office system in the colonies is therein told, and indications are not lacking that official moneys were not always taken with clean hands, or faithfully applied, or accounted for by clear records.

References are entered therein, under such titles as "bank" and "banking company" which require an additional word. It is not uncommon to meet with the mention of "colonial banks." Such a title carries to a twentieth century mind a false impression, unless the owner of that mind happens to know that in colonial times there was no such institution as a bank in the present use of the term. Our colonial forbears had no place where they could deposit money on account, to be withdrawn at their convenience, either in currency

No Banks

or by check. There were no bankers in those days, as we understand the word to-day.

True, it is recorded that certain men formed a "Banking Company." They issued £110,000 of promises to pay to the holder the sums named in the promises. They received no deposits. They provided the public with none of the conveniences for which a bank, as we understand the term, is organized. They might more appropriately have been named a "credit association" or a "loan association." Again, one reads that a colony issues "a bank" of £48,000 of paper money. One might just as appropriately say that the U. S. Government issued "a bank" of \$160,000,000 of "greenbacks" in 1862. One was quite as much a bank as the other, and the issues were strongly similar in character.

Next to paper money, taxation attracted more attention than any other feature of financial history,

Taxation during the period (1698-1774) under review in this division of the narrative.

The historical perspective at the close of this chapter records many refusals on the part of the colonists to heed England's calls for revenue. The colonies were coming rapidly to feel that it was their right to say everything about colonial taxation. Colonial governors were obliged to report to the mother-country that they found themselves more or less powerless to obtain the moneys called for, and that there was a rapidly growing sentiment for cutting loose entirely from the rule of England, and of conducting not only other matters, but financial matters as well, in their own way, and at their own hazard.

The story of taxation, because of its close relation

to commerce, is briefly outlined in the chapter on trade. The legislative side of it is presented in that part of the volume which narrates political history. A brief reference to the culmination, is not, however, out of place at the close of the financial record of this volume.

When forbearance was at last pressed beyond endurance by the passage of the "Stamp Act," the first permanent colony planted in America was the first to take action. While other colonies were pondering, the planters of Virginia, quickly recovering their first alarm, resolved to turn the Act against its authors. Articles of English luxury were banished, and threadbare coats became the pride of their wearers, who thus "blazed" out the practical path to actual independence. Their famous "Henry Resolutions," passed under the fiery eloquence of Patrick Henry, "rang the alarm bell for the continent."

**Culmina-
tion**

Next Massachusetts, from almost the extreme north, under the lead of the "inspired madman," James Otis, made an all-appealing call for a continental congress to secure united action. From almost the extreme south, under the influence of that "lover of his country," Christopher Gadsden, South Carolina, responding first to the trumpet-call of Massachusetts, took the initiative which gave the call its fruitage.

The fire thus kindled burned on and on during the few following portentous years, until at last the burning became a conflagration that spread from Maine to Georgia and the sword was drawn in defence of industrial freedom.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—FINANCE, 1698-1774

NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.

- 1697 (and following), Mass.—No one could carry out of the colony, for expenses, more than £5 of coin or bullion.
- 1698, Phila.—Ale equal to London "half and half," 15s. per barrel.—Pa.—Ship carpenter's wages, 5s. to 6s. per day.—Mass.—Court refused to provide funds to fortify Boston and Pemaquid.—N. Y.—A revenue voted for six years at the sole disposal of the governor.
- 1699, Mass.—Governor's salary raised from \$400 per year, to near \$9000 per 14 mo.
- 1700 or 1702, Pa.—A royal requisition for £350 toward the defence of N. Y. refused, but £2000 voted for its own colonial government.
- 1701, Pa.—Qualification for voting was 50 acres, or £50 in personal property.
- 1702, Mass.—A stated salary for the governor refused.—N. Y.—A present to the governor of \$6666 and his salary raised to \$4000. A grant of £2000 to defray the expenses of Lord Cornbury's voyage from England.—S. C.—First Bills of Credit issued,—time, 3 years,—to be paid by a tax on liquors and furs; amount, £6000.
- 1702-11, Mass.—Paper money: Before 1702, £110,000—1702, £10,000—1706, £10,000—1707, £22,000—1708, £10,000—1709, £60,000—1710, £40,000—1711, £65,000—Total, £207,000—1712, made legal tender.
- 1703, N. Y.—An appropriation of £1500 to fortify the Narrows "and for no other use whatever," and yet the Narrows were not fortified and the governor never accounted for the fund.
- 1704, Va. and Md.—Tobacco had enriched a few, but the great part were poor and in debt to the rich.
- 1704 and 1772, Pa.—Imports from England: £11,459 and £507,909.
- 1705, Va.—Burgesses had from 1 to 4 days allowance for coming or going, at 130 lb. tobacco per day (and ferriage) if by land: 120 lb., if by water.—The 12 Counselors to have £350 sterling (about \$1600) annually, divided among them pro rata for actual attendance at Court.—Tobacco tax of 1s. 3d. per ton laid for postal service was the cause of much complaint on the part of planters and as distasteful as the "Stamp Act."—Debtors in prison 3 months and giving up their property to be released.—Salary of the governor, £2000.—N. Y.—Assembly appoints a treasurer to administer expenditures, instead of the governor.
- 1706, Md.—White slaves, price £12 to £30.—S. C.—£8000 Bills of Credit issued (plan of 1702).
- 1707, N. J.—Assembly accuse the governor of taking bribes.
- 1709, N. Y., N. J., and Conn.—First issue of paper money.—N. Y. refuses the Crown's demand for a perpetual revenue, and makes it annual.
- Early 18th Century.—Money scales were common household articles to weigh coin, bullion, and plate.—In many colonies, to 1720 or later, paper money was multiplied lavishly, and England (by instruction) conditioned its future issue to government purposes only.—Va.—Tobacco was the universal currency.
- 1710, Eng.—Parliament instituted a P. O. system for the colonies. Head Qrs. in New York. Rates of postage named. Freedom of ferries provided and a summary process for collecting dues. Routes were gradually extended.—Md.—Wolf bounties offered.—S. C.—£48,000 of Int.-bearing Loan Credits issued, to be repaid in yearly instalments.—N. C.—Deerskins, hides, tallow, corn, etc., the currency for debts and taxes.
- 1710-20, N. Y.—Revenues so weak, government officers personally borrow money and pay the most pressing government debts.

1710-49, Mass.—Price of silver per ounce, in paper money.

(The nominal ordinary price until 1771 was 8s. per ounce. Then as paper money depreciated the price of silver increased.)

1710-11	1712-13	1714-15	1716-17	1718	1719-20	1721	1722	1723	1724-27
8s.	8s.-6d.	9s.	10s.	11s.	12s.	13s.	14s.	15s.	17s.

1728	1729	1730	1731	1732	1733
16s. 6d.-18s.	19-22s.	21-19s.	18s. 6d.-19s.	19s. 6d.-20s. 6d.	21-23s.

1734	1735	1736	1737	1738-40	1741-43	1745
24-27s.	27s. 6d.	27s.-26s. 6d.	26s. 6d.-27s.	28-29s.	28s.	35-37s.

1746	1747	1748	1749
35-42s.	45-60s.	55-57s.	60s.

(See diagram in text.)

- 1711, N. Y.—Hunter wrote to Eng.: "The colonies were then infants at their mothers' breasts, but such as would wean themselves when they came of age."—£10,000 Bills of Credit issued.—Fixed salary for the governor refused: annual only.—Mass.—Credit of the English treasury poor in Boston unless endorsed. Mass. endorsed to the extent of nearly £40,000.
- 1712, S. C.—"A bank" of £48,000 paper money issued.
- 1713, N. C.—First Bills of Credit issued: £8000.
- 1714, Mass.—Salem taxes non-residents fourfold for fish-drying privileges.—Pa.—Assembly paid Andrew Bradford £30 for 50 copies of the colonial laws.
- 1714-16, Mass.—£150,000 paper money issued (had been issuing paper money 20 years).
- 1714-31, New Eng.—The colonies laid customs duties on trade for both revenue and protection to colonial industry. These duties caused serious conflicts between the colonies, continuing up to the date of National Union.
- 1714-74, Eng.—British expenditures, in connection with the American Colonies, to protect the interests of British merchants and manufacturers (and through that, of agriculturists) were £34,697,142 sterling.
- 1715, Va.—Revenue from export duty on tobacco £4000 and land tax £300.—N. Y.—£38,000 paper money issued.—Md.—Blasphemy fined £20, and tongue bored through.
- 1716, Mass.—£100,000 paper money issued.
- 1717, N. Y.—£48,000 paper money issued.—N. H.—£15,000 paper money issued.—France.—"Company of the West" chartered to operate in Louisiana.
- 1718, Mass.—Duty laid on imports of English manufactures, unless in Mass. ships (negatived by the king).—France.—"Co. of the West" granted the right to "farm" tobacco in Louisiana.
- 1719, Boston.—Deerskins dressed in oil (by white men) 8s. 6d. per pound, (by Indians) 5s. Dressed in the hair, 1s. 8d. a pound.—Phila.—Tobacco pipes (clay), 3s. to 4s. per gross. Bohea tea advertised by the printer Bradford at 22s. to 50s. per pound.
- 1719-24, Eng.—Tobacco impost at 4d. per pound yielded £59,529.
- 1720, Eng.—The king ordered colonial governors to pass no laws for issuing paper money.—Mass.—Payment of taxes in produce permitted, and parchment pennies (round), twopences (square), and threepences ("sixangular"), issued.
- 1720-21, Mass.—Governor's salary twice curtailed.

- 1721, N. J.—£40,000 bills of credit issued.—R. I.—A "bank" of £40,000 paper money loaned to inhabitants, interest payable in hemp or flax.—La.—"Co. of the West" ("Mississippi Bubble") collapsed.
- 1722, Va.—Duty laid on the import of liquor and slaves (repealed in England).—S. C.—Rice a legal tender.
- 1722 and 23, Pa.—£45,000 paper money loaned.
- 1723, Va.—The tobacco tax for the support of William and Mary Coll. [1692, O. S.], noted in Volume One, proved partly unsatisfactory. Some revenue officers accepted Pa. money (discount about 50%) and N. C. money (discount nearly 75%) instead of exacting Eng. money.—Md.—School teachers paid £20 per year and the "use of the Plantation."—Phila.—Men's shoes, 7s. to 7s. 6d. a pair; women's, 5s. to 6s.; sole leather, 9d. per pound; calf skins, 3s. 6d. to 5s. each; sheepskins, 1s. 8d. each.
- 1724, Boston.—Marine insurance begun.—Mass.—General Court forbids scarfs at funerals as a "burdensome custom."
- 1725, Mass.—Bounty of £100 offered on Indian scalps.
- 1726, Va.—A fine of £10 per hhd. of tobacco raised in N. C. and sold in Va.—Mass.—Monopoly and bounty for duck manufacture.
- 1727, New Eng.—Much of the shipbuilding was by English capital.
- 1728, Boston.—Coach and horses "8s. a time": Sunday for "Church or Meeting . . . 8s. per day, which is 2s. a time."—Mass.—£50,000 paper money issued.—N. J.—£20,000 paper money issued.
- 1729, Mass.—Salem Court enacts public-house rates: "For a hot dinner, eight pence; for breakfast or supper, six pence. For horses, Two quarts oats, three pence; stabling and good hay, each night, six pence. . . . For each nib of punch made with double-refined sugar and one gill and a half of rum, nine pence. . . . with single refined sugar . . . eight pence . . . of muscovado sugar . . . seven pence . . . for each gill of rum, three pence; for each quart of strong Beer, four pence; for each gill of brandy, or condial dram, six pence; for each quart of metheglin, nine pence; for each quart of cider, four pence."—Va. & Md.—Value of tobacco crop, £600,000. Revenue from tobacco, £200,000, yearly.—New Eng.—Daughters to share with sons as heirs.—N. C.—£50,000 paper money issued.
- 1730, Pa.—A constant volume of paper money (£75,000) provided.
- 1731 (a book pub. in), Va. and Md.—Export of lumber to Eng. in "tobacco ships," £15,000 yearly.
- 1731, Md.—Price of tobacco fixed at 6s. per 100 pounds.—S. C.—£104,000 paper money issued.—La.—Charter of the "Co. of the West" surrendered and its money prohibited.
- 1732, R. I.—Governor ejected because he opposed paper money issues.—Md.—Tobacco a legal tender at 1d. per pound.—Phila.—Strong beer, 12d. per gallon; good ale, 8d. per gallon; middling beer, 4d. per gallon.
- 1733, Mass.—Merchants form a "banking company" and issue £110,000 paper money. This being payable in silver, $\frac{1}{8}$ per year, was preferred to colonial money and hoarded.—Conn.—£50,000 paper money issued.—R. I.—£100,000 paper money issued.—Md.—£90,000 paper money issued.
- 1733-63.—Customs revenue from the colonies to the Crown averaged not over £1900 per year at a cost of £7000 per year.
- 1735 (or 1733), Eng.—Duty of 9d. a gal. on rum; 6d. on molasses; 5s. on 100 lb. sugar, imported into American colonies from foreign colonies.—Boston.—Expenditures: For the poor, £2060; the Watch, £1200; Ministry, £8000; other, £4630.
- 1736, S. C.—£100,000 paper money issued.
- 1736-39, N. Y.—All revenue to the king refused.
- 1737, N. Y.—£48,350 loan paper issued (probably the last ordinary N. Y. issue).—Pa.—Land, about \$45 per 100 acres.
- 1737-39, Conn.—"Granby coppers" coined.

- 1738.—New Eng. currency worth only 20%; N. Y., N. J., Pa., and Md., $62\frac{1}{2}\%$ to 50%; S. C., $12\frac{1}{2}\%$; N. C., 10%.
- 1740, Mass.—"Silver scheme" and "Land Bank" paper money issues were invalidated under Parliamentary law (1719) following the "South Sea Bubble" craze.—Md.—Gov't printer's salary, £500 currency per year.—S. C.—Great fire in Charleston (\$1,000,000 loss).
- 1741, Eng.—Parliament affirmed the law of 1719, making each member of a stock company personally liable for its debts, to be in force in the colonies.
- 1742, N. Y.—Legislature regulated the payment of "quit-rents."
- 1743, Pa.—The price of the first German Bible "in plain binding with a clasp . . . 18s., but to the poor and needy we have no price."
- 1744, Eng.—Colonies forbidden to issue paper money.
- 1745, Va.—Tobacco current at 14s. per 100 pounds.
- 1745-62, New Eng.—Lotteries common for debt-lifting, fire-losses, bridge-building, etc.
- 1746, New Eng.—Two thirds of the materials in shipbuilding are home products and therefore aid home employment and home profits.
- 1747, S. C.—Indigo, 2s. 6d. a pound.
- 1748, Mass.—Volume of paper money £2,000,000 (value $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$).
- 1749, N. Y.—Assembly refuse a fixed salary for the governor, and insist on annual support.—Boston.—Society formed for promoting industry and frugality.
- 1750, Mass.—Specie basis adopted, and paper money redeemed at about $\frac{1}{2}$ less than its current value, and the circulation of Conn. and R. I. currency prohibited.
- 1751.—Conn. called in its paper money, but R. I. did not (see 1750, above).
- 1752, La.—France offers to receive all La. tobacco at \$7 per 100 pounds.
- 1753, N. Y.—Law against passing counterfeit Eng. halfpence and farthings. Law requiring mortgages to be registered.—Conn.—£80,000 (currency), value of yearly export of flaxseed.
- 1754, N. Y. City.—Copper halfpence degraded.—N. Y. and Md. voted £11,000 to aid Va. in an impending Indian warfare.—Md.—Lord Baltimore's income: Quit-rents, \$25,000; Tonnage tax (14d.) on ships, not of Md., nearly \$5000. Export tax of 1s. per hhd. on tobacco, nearly \$7000; Total over \$35,000 per year;
- 1755, Mass.—Colonial Stamp Act: That is, taxes laid on licensed vellum, parchment, and paper, and on newspapers. (A year later, N. Y. passed a similar Act, which stood four years.) This law was re-enacted thirty years later (20 years after the Parliamentary "Stamp Act"), but was repealed before it became operative. Soon after, a tax was laid on advertising, and continued in force two years.—Excise tax on wines and spiritous liquors, on basis of family consumption, stated under oath. This stirred much excitement among liquor dealers, and the press declaimed against it.—Pa.—£10,000 of paper money issued to redeem torn and worn bills.—Ga.—£3000 of paper money issued. Before this the currency was bills of exchange in small sums, drawn on the London trustees. These had been mostly paid and a fund laid aside to meet the rest at maturity, hence their currency was about to disappear.—The colonies (except Md., S. C., and Ga.) issued paper money to meet war expenses. This was Virginia's first issue of paper money.
- 1755 and 1758, Va.—In place of tobacco, taxes might be paid in money. (Annulled by the king.)
- 1756, R. I.—Marine insurance by Stephen Hopkins, at Providence.
- 1757—"Boston Lottery, No. 7."
- 1757-69, R. I.—Thirty lottery schemes.
- 1759, Eng.—Georgia silk two or three shillings higher than other silk.
- 1760.—N. C. and S. C. Each offer £25 bounty for Indian scalps.
- 1761, Boston.—Faneuil Hall burned. Rebuilt by lottery.
- 1762, Mass.—Fierce opposition to making gold coin equal to silver.—Conn.—Pig-iron at Salisbury works \$35-\$40 per ton.
- 1763, Eng.—Special means undertaken to enforce collection of customs duties.
- 1763-73, Ga.—Export value rose from £27,020 to £121,677.
- 1763-75.—Currency little changed. Paper money in moderation.

- 1763-77, New Eng.—Ships built in Maine at \$27 to \$34 per ton, and sold in Boston at \$40 to \$43 per ton.
- 1764, Eng.—A Stamp Act for the colonies proposed in Parliament.—Mass.—House of Representatives resolves: "That the imposition of duties and taxes . . . upon a people not represented . . . is absolutely irreconcilable with their rights." "If we are not represented we are slaves."—Pennsylvania re-echoed the Mass. action.—Petitions and memorials proclaiming the right of the colonies to tax themselves were sent to Parliament by Mass., Conn., R. I., N. Y., and Va., but they were ignored.
- 1765, Eng.—"The Stamp Act" passed.—Va.—Resolutions of independence passed.—Mass.—A call issued for a Colonial Congress.—S. C.—The call of Mass. for a Colonial Congress endorsed.
- 1765, Mass.—An appropriation of \$50,000 per year made to reduce debt, and its interest rate reduced from 6% to 5%.—Phila.—Export of lumber, shingles, etc., £2470.
- 1766, N. Y.—Bar-iron, £26 a ton; Pig, £7 10s. a ton; Copper ore, £100 a ton.
- 1767, Eng.—Townshend Acts (*new* duties laid on colonial imports). Great opposition (see 1770).
- 1768, N. Y.—The Chamber of Commerce founded (incorporated 1770).
- 1770, Eng.—Townshend taxes repealed except on tea.—Md.—The governor's "fees" resisted.—Other colonies protest against "official extortion" (especially N. J. and N. C.). Payment was refused and personal assaults made on offending officials.—All colonies.—Export of lumber, including split products \$686,588.
- 1772, Eng.—To collect \$400 of tax on tea, cost \$1,500,000 (\$3750 to collect \$1).
- 1773, Mass.—Harvard College lottery benefit.
- 1774 N. Y.—Exports to Great Britain £130,000, to which add ships sold, £30,000.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS—1774

The great agricultural experiment was finished, so far as deciding what European plants were profitable for cultivation in the New World. Wheat was already withdrawing from New England and was centered in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Corn was still the great universal food product for man and beast. Oats had become an established food for horses. Tobacco was the chief crop of Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina. Rice and indigo were the wealth products of South Carolina and Georgia, and indigo was about to be supplanted by cotton.

Manufacture had made steady progress. The settled area of New England and the Middle Colonies was one great universal textile factory. Within almost every dwelling was the legend "Spinning and

weaving done here," not in words, but in wheels and looms and activities. Cloth was the great manufacture of that period. Shipbuilding thrived remarkably from Maine to Connecticut. Cod, herring, and mackerel fishing was important, and adventurous whalers went far from home and brought back much wealth. Multitudes of iron mines and blast furnaces dotted the foot-hills from the Berkshires of Massachusetts southward, through New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, into North Carolina. A few iron-works for the more advanced processes of manufacture were in operation. Copper mining, and some smelting, was successful at several points, and there was a small lead product. Numerous minor metal manufactures of various tools and utensils were established.

Trade was well developed on land and sea and the home market already greatly outstripped that of foreign lands. Transportation by coastwise routes and river routes employed much more shipping than oversea carrying, and that by wagon-roads was making recognized beginnings.

Finance had thrown off the handicap of barter and stepped out of its rudimentary prison-cell into the actual realm of employing a universal medium of exchange. The industrial chain was thus made whole: Every link complete, and the interdependent activities of National development were taking their initial hold, each on each, to move triumphantly on toward the mightiest goal known to the nations of the earth.

Part Four
Civilization

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—1698–1774

RELIGION	MORALS	LITERATURE	EDUCATION	SOCIAL LIFE	ART
1697, N.Y. — Trinity Church built			1700, N.Y. — 1st public library in the U.S.		
1698, Boston. — Wm. Kidd seized			1701, Conn. — Yale College founded		
1700, N.Y. and Mass. — Roman Catholics banished			1702, N.Y. — Pestilence decimates population		
1704. — Boston "News Letter" begun			1709, N.Y. — Slave market in Wall Street		
1710, Va. — Writ of Habeas Corpus allowed			1712, Boston and New York — Bi-weekly mail		
1719, N.C. — "Blackbeard", pirate, killed			1720. — Clocks displace hour-glass and dials		
1719-1731. — 1st Newspapers in the colonies			1721, Mass. — Innoculation controversy		
1724-32. — Activity in Colonial map making			1730, Phila. and New York — Bi-monthly stage line		
1725. — New York Gazette (1st N.Y. weekly)			1733, S.C. — Negro insurrection		
			Boston. — First lodge of Free Masons		
1734, Mass. — The "Great Awakening" begins			1734, N.Y. — Zenger's trial (Freedom of the Press)		
1739, Phila. — Whittier, etc. begins his work			1740, Phila. — Charity school begun, followed by the University of Pennsylvania		
1741, Phila. — Franklin founds first literary magazine			1741, N.Y. — Great "Negro Plot"		
1748, Phila. — First Amer. Lutheran Synod			1746. — College of New Jersey chartered		
1752, N.Y. — Religious schools opposed			1753, N.Y. — 2d theatre opened (Nassau St.)		
1758, Pa. — Presby. Synods of N.Y. and Phila. unite after 13 years separation			1754, Phila. — 1st theatre opened		
1760, N.Y. — Methodism introduced			1760. — New Eng. leads in education		
			1760-1774. — Fine colonial homes built		
1766, N.Y. — Methodism introduced			1764, Phila. — First medical school in America		
1770-1774. — Copley, Peale, Ramage and Pratt, prominent as painters					
1774, Phila. — 1st Society for the abolition of slavery					

Explanatory:—Increase of population is indicated: 1, By the size of the circles. 2, By the distance each circle is placed from the left hand edge of the diagram.— Events are representative, not exhaustive.

CHAPTER I

RELIGION AND MORALITY

WRITING of his visit to England about the middle of the eighteenth century, Montesquieu observed,—“If one speaks of religion, every one laughs.” Most of the prominent states-**Methodism**men were unbelievers and profligates. The higher prelates were little more than politicians in lawn sleeves. “A Welsh bishop,” says Green in his *History of the English People*, “avowed that he had seen his diocese but once.” The rectors and curates were generally indolent and poor. Religion was without social consideration on the part either of the aristocracy or of the masses of the people; but its spirit was alive in the middle class, which produced and supported the great Methodist Episcopal movement of the Wesleys.

Like Puritanism, Methodism began as a movement within the Church and with the purpose of reforming the Establishment by simplifying the ritual, by inspiring the conduct of the worshipers, and by setting it to its proper task of enlightening the world. And like Puritanism, as a movement, Methodism went on to separate itself from the Established Church and to adopt an independent organization. There the likeness ceased, for Methodism early

produced (or was itself formed by) two great leaders, John and Charles Wesley; about them it centered its life, while Puritanism, wanting the unifying force of great personalities, broke into several independent parts. So vigorous was Methodism that, very early in its development, its influence began to radiate outward; and the enthusiasm of its faith, as manifested by the great preacher, George Whitefield, was carried to America. In the religious history of the colonies in the eighteenth century, before the Revolutionary War, the preaching of Whitefield was second in importance only to the "Great Awakening." It may, indeed, be said to have been a part of that singularly interesting and immensely significant movement.

From the day of his graduation from Oxford, at twenty-one years of age, Whitefield, already a deacon in the Church, was recognized **Whitefield** as a preacher of great power, addressing with brilliant success, not only the multitude but also fashionable congregations. In December, 1737, a year and a half after his graduation, he was sent to Georgia by the trustees of the new colony, who hoped thereby to promote the Methodist cause. Whitefield remained three months in that field of missionary endeavor. Upon his return to England, he found the clergy arrayed against him, but the masses followed him even more enthusiastically than before. In 1739, he came again to America, and remained here two years, making a tour of the colonies. Again he returned to England, but from 1744 to 1748 was once more in America. And thus he went from mother-country to colonies, in all

seven times. He preached often forty, and sometimes sixty, hours in the week, a "son of thunder," indeed, with a voice that held twenty thousand men spellbound. Whitefield died in 1770 in Newburyport, Massachusetts. As a missionary, he may be called a modern St. Paul, for he was a great traveler and had preached in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland as well as in the thirteen colonies. His message was Calvinistic Methodism, and by it he changed the course of life for hundreds of thousands. This message, spoken in clear and direct language, with a voice of marvelous range and of singular beauty, by a man of extraordinary earnestness and force, modified mightily for good the current of American social life. "I had rather wear out than rust out," said this man of popular genius, whose thousand clerical detractors together never did as much for the moral improvement of the British people.

But Wesleyan Methodism was not brought into America by Whitefield, though he was one of the first and by far the most important of the Wesley converts. The first Wesleyans came hither in 1760, but the earliest preaching services were not begun until 1766. A year later, Captain Thomas Webb of the British army, authorized by John Wesley to preach, opened in New York city the first Methodist church in America. Methodism in Maryland was contemporaneous with this movement in New York. In 1773, Wesleyanism numbered over one thousand adherents, and all the preachers were foreign-born. Wesley instructed those who attended the American general conference of that year "strictly to avoid

**Wesleyan
Methodism**

administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper," but rather to attend the sacraments of the regular Episcopal Church. Such were the modest beginnings of what is now the most numerous Protestant denomination in the United States.

In Jonathan Edwards, son of Reverend Timothy Edwards and grandson of that Reverend Solomon Stoddard who, upon the principles of the "halfway covenant," admitted baptized persons to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, eighteenth century New England produced the greatest metaphysician (according to some the greatest intellect) known to American history. The biographical facts of the career of this famous preacher are few:—Born in 1703, in East Windsor, Connecticut; a scholar in Latin and Greek before he reached his teens; classical student, graduate, and theological student at Yale; preacher for several months to Presbyterians in New York; tutor at Yale; for twenty-three years pastor of the Congregational Church at Northampton, Massachusetts; for six years missionary pastor to the Housatonnuck Indians at Stockbridge, and for two months President of the College at Princeton, New Jersey, where he died from the ill-effects of inoculation (not vaccination), which had been administered as a protection against the smallpox then prevalent. Through all these years, he lived an isolated, centralized, profound life, and by his intense enthusiasm drew many to his conviction of the universal sovereignty of God and the absolute subordination of man. Edwards preached vigorously the truth taught by Jesus to Nicodemus,—“Ye must be born again.” It may,

indeed, he said that he rediscovered that truth. All the Christian ages had recognized the principle of regeneration; Edwards, however, made it the corner-stone of a theological system. He held to the sternest tenets of Calvinism, affirming election, foreordination, predestination; and he exhorted to personal reconciliation, expounding that prayer of Jesus, —“Not my will but Thine be done.” The strange glory of the mysticism of Edwards broke with awful power upon the New England mind. Men forgot to wrangle over the question as to whether there really were “the elect” and “the lost,” and fell to searching their own souls to see whether they themselves were converted or unconverted, regenerate or unregenerate, reconciled to God and with God, or unreconciled. Revivals, “new lives,” began, and Whitefield came to the Connecticut valley to assist in the services. Other revivalists followed Edwards and Whitefield and went to the wildest extremes, so that they were forbidden to preach in the churches, but assembled their crowds upon public commons and in the fields.

Such was the origin of the “Great Awakening,” whose influence spread through all the Northern and Middle Colonies. It quickened the emotional and religious life of the colonials, **The “Great Awakening”** and was followed by a marked improvement in the general morals. Its influence, spreading to England, not only contributed to the support of Wesleyanism, but inspired Anglicanism itself to more serious views and to greater activity. Like so many other great movements, the “Awakening” died out in the reformation that it wrought; a fire can burn only so long as the fuel lasts. When

most of the thoughtful people of New England and of the Middle Colonies had become converts to this evangel, its message needed no further preaching. Edwards had taught new conceptions of God as a Sovereign of infinite power and as a Father of infinite solicitude for His children. These conceptions expanded the colonial imagination and inculcated tenderness of affection alike toward God and toward the neighbor. The mysticism of Edwards, living as he did upon the borders of colonial settlement, did much to counteract the naturalism and brutality that were creeping out of the forest into the very soul of New England character.

In the eighteenth century, Congregationalism became divided into three forms,—the council of churches with power to coerce each member, the council without coercive power, and the independent church, not associated in council with others. In Connecticut, the councils became permanent and were known as “consociations”; thus, Connecticut Congregationalism, though not coercive, began to resemble Presbyterianism closely in polity. Whenever a temporary council of Massachusetts attempted to coerce a church in its fellowship, the result was usually to drive the church out of the council. These excluded churches came to resemble the Independent churches of England, and some of them developed later into Unitarian congregations. Indeed, as early as 1718, the Reverend Doctor Ebenezer Gay was settled at Hingham as a Unitarian; but for a century thereafter in Congregational churches, instances of that belief, rather than the Trinitarian, are few.

From the colony of Rhode Island, Baptist churches spread abroad, but were chiefly successful in the Southern and Middle Colonies. In Pennsylvania, the Baptists were Calvinists, farther south they were Arminians; but as time went on Calvinism gained more and more until its principles, as displayed in the Westminster Confession, became the accepted standard. The "Great Awakening" contributed vastly to the membership of the Baptist churches, in Massachusetts alone, within a few decades, raising the number of baptized communicants from two hundred to three thousand. The congregational polity of the Baptist churches, by stimulating individual initiative, gave them a certain advantage in missionary work.

Baptists

Yet the progress of Presbyterianism was equally great. The Huguenots introduced their churches in and near New York, in Charleston (South Carolina), and in Boston, before 1690.

Presbyterianism

Puritan-Presbyterian churches were already well established in Connecticut and upon Long Island, and farther south also. The Dutch Reformed Church (Presbyterian in polity and Calvinist in doctrine) was established in New York in the earliest days of that colony. The first regular presbytery was convened in Philadelphia early in the eighteenth century. During the first three quarter-centuries, many Irish, Scotch, and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians came to America, settling all through the border country from Vermont to Georgia. During the same period, many German-speaking Palatinate and Swiss Presbyterians came to Pennsylvania.

At its close, there were in all two hundred and sixty Presbyterian ministers in America.

The Church of England in America, during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, controlled the religious situation in the Southern Colonies, was very influential in Maryland, was well represented in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, and had several vigorous bodies of communicants in New England. It was under the control of the Bishop of London, who had an official representative in the colonies. The Church organized and maintained *The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* and *The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, whose headquarters were in London, but whose mission efforts went on across the sea. In 1774, there were, in the colonies, two hundred and fifty ordained ministers, guiding the spiritual affairs of three hundred parishes. The famous English philosopher, Doctor George Berkeley, spent two and a half years in Rhode Island, endeavoring to establish Anglican Church missions, especially among the Indians. In many other ways, also, he exerted a broad, lasting, and gracious influence for good.

Of other Christian denominations in America,—the Roman Catholic, the various Dutch, German, and Swiss sects,—it suffices to record that, with the growth of population, they increased in numbers as the century progressed. Of the ministry it may be said that the general standard of culture was low, but that there were notable exceptions. Several denominations received government support throughout the period,

notably the Congregational Church in Massachusetts and Connecticut and the Church of England in the Southern Colonies.

Not even a very brief and general survey of religious conditions may properly omit mention of the famous Mathers, the great divines of New England. Of these, there were in lineal descent three, Increase, Cotton,

**Moral
Conduct**

and Samuel. Cotton Mather was the most prolific author and perhaps the most influential preacher of them all. His supremacy in religious affairs covered the last two decades of the seventeenth century and the first three of the eighteenth. He was intensely interested in moral reforms, establishing many guilds that concerned themselves with all such matters, both personal and general. Among the rules for such guilds were these, namely:

"2. Is there any particular person whose disorderly behavior may be so scandalous and so notorious that we may do well to send unto the said person our charitable admonitions? . . .

"6. Can any further methods be devised that ignorance and wickedness may be chased from our people in general and that household piety in particular may flourish among them? . . .

"8. Is there any matter to be humbly moved into the legislative power to be enacted into law for public benefit? "

We may judge the morals of a people at any particular period from four different points of view. It is, of course, easiest to judge from the point of view of the morals of our own times; less easy to judge from the point of view of the morals of a contemporaneous people similarly

Standards

situated; still more difficult to judge by the standard of morals of the generation that preceded them, and most difficult of all to arrive at a judgment based upon the economic and ethical conditions inherent in their own social state. To do this last, it is necessary to determine historically what progressive economic and ethical development might reasonably have been expected, and to determine theoretically what sound economics and ethics are. Moral judgments are notoriously ready upon lips and pen, and as notoriously unjust. We may, for example, condemn the eighteenth century as the age of the lottery alike for business and for charitable enterprises. But a fair examination of the facts shows that the lottery, whether to build a new church or to restore a burned dwelling-house or to endow a college, had in it much that was good in an age when, for many reasons, subscriptions were difficult to secure, when fire-insurance companies were almost unknown, and when millionaire philanthropists were as yet undreamed of. The American lottery does not look very evil in the lurid light of an age when English nobles and gentlemen nightly won and lost fortunes in gambling-clubs, and when almost any position in Church and State was for purchase and sale. The lottery was, in fact, a step forward towards coöperation.

Or we may condemn the clergy of the Church of England in Virginia as generally deficient in scholarship, indolent, and drunken, and as sometimes lewd; but they were scarcely worse than the clergy living upon similar incomes in the parishes of England. Moreover, the very system of their appointment and support tended to the unloading upon the colony of

the "baser sort" from the Church of England at home.

In many of the original records of colonial history, and in some histories based upon these records, we hear a great deal about what may be called "sexual irregularities," and we are at once in danger of concluding that the eighteenth century in America was in evil state. It was, indeed, like the seventeenth century, a period when men of high and pure morality were engaged in compulsory moral reform, and when a great part of the population had been recruited from the lower elements of European peoples or were descended from these elements and bred in their traditions. But a little reflection shows that most of the offenses then legally penalized are, in the present age, ignored; the best men of the eighteenth century considered as crimes many moral offenses that we regard only as sins. Investigation discloses that certain of the offenses, such as "bundling," grew out of peculiar religious and civil customs,—in this instance, the formal betrothal or precontract to marry with publication of the banns. This custom seems to have come from Holland, but was extended through all the colonies, nor was it finally crushed out by the English common-law judges until the precontract was itself abolished.

**Sin, not
Crime**

Considered as a whole, the eighteenth century before 1775 in America, was less religious in spirit but more moral in conduct than the seventeenth. Despite slavery, smuggling, and the lottery, despite the barbarizing tendency of the constant warfare, despite

**Regenera-
tion**

the isolation from the culture of Europe, despite the mixture of peoples, despite illiteracy, despite the impoverishing force of large families, the people were growing more honest, more sensitive in matters of honor, finer in the relation of the sexes, more tender-hearted, more interested in all matters of right and wrong. The general morality was rather higher than in England or upon the Continent. Murder, highway robbery, and official corruption were far more common abroad than in the colonies. American society with its new idea of "the general welfare" was coming into being, and the process was difficult and painful enough, though encouraging to all who saw clearly. The regeneration of mankind was progressing.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION

IN order properly to understand the civilization of the eighteenth century in America, it is necessary to destroy the illusion of a considerable multitude of people covering the Atlantic slope. We must see the region from the Kennebec to the Altamaha but very thinly populated, and must realize that, if we were to spread any two million of the people now resident in this region as widely and as thinly over it, and if we were to study them as closely, the good and the bad together, as all of us are studying the colonial two millions, we should find their social conditions generally less creditable in comparison with those of the earlier generation than we are wont to imagine. At the present time, there is a persistent tendency to consider only the intelligent, the good, the well-to-do, and to forget the multitudes of the ignorant, of the bad, and of the poor. Were we thus to compare all of the colonials with an equal number of twentieth century Americans (chosen by lot) now resident in the same region, the greatest difference that we should note would be in the matter, not of morality, not of social companionableness, but

**The Great
Difference**

of education. Morals are the slow accretion of the ages; universal education came to us suddenly in the middle of the nineteenth century, though the historian sees in the eighteenth century the origin of its revolutionary force. But for the general setback in all matters of culture that resulted from the War of Independence, universal education would have been established half a century earlier.

In the Middle and Southern Colonies, which before 1750 were almost without schools, the great educator was Benjamin Franklin, who in book, pamphlet, and newspaper article taught the methods of self-education. He was, indeed, the typical "self-made man," and almost the only one known to history who was well made. This well-bred but poorly schooled American emphasized the principles of self-culture in a land of the crude, the coarse, the indolent, the wasteful, the contented. Making his fortune before he was fifty, after that age he gave all his time to the service of the public and to the higher life, which is self-development or education. Franklin was the general educator of the colonials, teaching them self-reliance, which must issue in independence. Beginning the work of his academy in a building erected for the wonderful Whitefield, who by his preaching changed for the better the manners and morals of Philadelphia, the transplanted Boston printer, publicist, author, scientist, economist, philosopher, statesman, laid the foundations of the University of Pennsylvania, which was developed from his modest educational enterprise.

A new sense of the peril of ignorance gave to education vital power. Said Dr. Thomas Bray, American representative of the Bishop of London, **The Peril of Ignorance** in a missionary sermon:

"It is Ignorance which is the Natural Parent of that Atheism and Infidelity so rife amongst Men; and, indeed, not only of that, but of all other Vices and Wickednesses whatsoever. . . . we cannot now work Miracles, and . . . *Inspiration* is no part of our Talent; but . . . we are left to the ordinary means of Converting the World; *namely*, the Common Measures of God's Holy Spirit accompanying our Hard Study."

Arguing for better schools, a New York writer, probably William Livingston, shrewdly declared:

"It is true, we had a Law which declared in its Preamble, that the Youth of this Province, were not inferior in their Geniusses to those of any other Country; But against this it is to be observed, that the Law **Genius and Education** is long since expired, and probably our natural Ingenuity abated, and even tho' this was not the Case, I can by no Means agree, that the natural fertility of our Geniusses, is a sufficient Reason for the Total Neglect of their Cultivation."

From this curious communication, it may be inferred that New York had but few schools, and those very poor. No doubt, the proud and parsimonious leaders argued that smart boys did not need any education, and, having established this to their own satisfaction, then declared that all New York boys were smart.

In 1773, a rector, Dr. Jonathan Boucher, **Quality of Teachers** said of Maryland:

" . . . there is yet not a single college, and only one school with an endowment adequate to the maintenance of

even a common mechanic. What is still less credible is that at least two thirds of the little education we receive are derived from instructors who are either indentured servants or transported felons."

An advertisement of the period probably expressed the too common truth:

"Ran away: a Servant man who followed the occupation of a Schoolmaster, much given to drinking and gambling."

Grammar masters were paid all the way from twenty to a hundred pounds in provincial money, usually being given also a house with garden or farm, which their families cultivated. Ushers and tutors received either very small pay or none at all, being frequently indentured servants, sold for a term to pay their passage to America. Itinerant school-teachers and tutors were numerous and usually of small learning and of inferior character. A few masters and the college presidents and professors were learned and able men of the highest character and reputation. Southern planters occasionally employed excellent tutors to prepare their sons for study and travel in Europe. But an age in which the medical profession was not yet clearly distinguished or fairly recognized was by no means ready to recognize the profession of teaching.

Admission to college was based upon very narrow lines. The rule at Yale after 1745 was as follows:

College Requirements

"That none may expect to be admitted into this College unless upon Examination of the President and Tutors, They shall be found able Extempore to Read, Construe and Parce

Tully, Virgil, and the Greek Testament; and to write True Latin in Prose and to understand the Rules of Prosodia and Common Arithmetic, and Shall bring Sufficient Testimony of his Blameless and inoffensive Life."

Practically all the time of the grammar (that is, the college preparatory) course was taken up with Latin and a little Greek, until arithmetic was added. This may, therefore, be considered the first of the modern studies in the secondary schools. But in the best schools, Latin meant Latin history, literature, argumentation, and composition in prose and verse, as well as Latin grammar and English translation. Against this course, narrow even at its best, Franklin, the first apostle of the "new education," raised his protest, favoring natural philosophy, English, and the modern languages. In this protest, he spoke prophetically.

The studies of the free public schools of elementary grade were reading, writing, arithmetic, the catechism, spelling, the Bible. By no means all students pursued all these studies.

**Elementary
Studies**

On the contrary, a chief difference between the eighteenth and the twentieth century education consists in the fact that in the earlier period few pupils pursued more than one or two studies at a time, while all now pursue many studies. From the facts that the school sessions were from seven or eight o'clock in the morning until noon, and from one o'clock in the afternoon till four or five, and that the masters were allowed in all about fourteen days' holiday throughout the year, it might be inferred that the boys and girls of the eighteenth century were overschooled and that the teachers were

overworked. We must, however, remember several other facts:—that the girls did not go to school (unless perhaps irregularly for a year or two to some dame-school to learn their letters and sewing); that perhaps a third of the white boys (outside of New England) never went to school at all; that few went more than a few months consecutively; that very, very few ever reached the grammar (Latin) school; and that the teachers usually worked but a few months at a time in one place, going then to another, with an interim of manual work between. Further, we must remember that “school all the year” was the ideal, not attained in any save the wealthiest and most highly cultivated and earnestly enthusiastic communities. Indeed, one colony, North Carolina, had no school anywhere until the end of the period.

In the eighteenth century, many grammar schools and the few academies (toward the time of the War)

Illiteracy were growing out of the grade of secondary schools into the grade of colleges.

Unfortunately, some grammar schools were declining into elementary schools. So heavy were the war taxes, and so great was the waste of the wars in lives lost and in private property spent or destroyed, that many communities gave up the effort to provide schooling for their boys beyond writing, reading, and ciphering. In the border region, illiteracy actually increased. West of the Hudson, nearly a third of the men were illiterate, and almost all of the women. East of the Hudson, the record was considerably better. After the fall of Quebec, a new zeal for education seized the people, and affairs decidedly improved.

Poor as was the average quality of the teachers of

the eighteenth century, the quality of the text-books was worse, and their variety was very small. The only text-book written by an American before the Revolution was a little Latin grammar, the *Accidence* of Dr. Ezekiel Cheever, who lived in Boston to the ripe old age of ninety-four, having taught through seven decades. Among his pupils were many afterwards distinguished men. Reverend Cotton Mather, in a poem dedicated to his memory, declared:

**Text-books
and Authors**

“You that are *Men*, & Thoughts of *Manhood* know,
Be Just now to the Man that made you so—

’T is CORLET’S pains, & CHEEVER’S, we must own,
That thou, *New England*, art not *Scythia* grown.”

The Elijah Corlett thus celebrated was the master of the Cambridge grammar school, where, according to an old pamphlet, he “hath very well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity and painfulnesse in teaching and education of the youth under him.” Cheever presided over the Boston Latin school.

The standard text-books were *Lily’s Grammar* (Latin), Comenius’s *Visible World* (*Orbis Pictus*), Watts’s *The Young Child’s Catechism*, Dilworth’s *The Schoolmaster’s Assistant* (arithmetic), and *The New England Primer*, with its “In Adam’s Fall We finned all.” Of the Latin authors, there were various texts. The master and pupils made their own ink and sharpened their own goose-quills for pens, blotting their parchment, paper, or birch bark with sand.

The schoolhouse itself was usually a rude affair, to which the pupils were expected to bring their quota of firewood. In many schools, the pupils paid fees to the master in addition to his public salary. The school for ministers that was established by William Tennent and by the patronage of the *New Light* Presbyterians grew into Nassau Hall and Princeton University, was popularly and appropriately known as *Log College*.

**Rude
School-
houses**

By the close of the period under review, education had ceased to be aristocratic and had become democratic. Like the doctrine of regeneration, advocated by the New Lights, education was a leveling process, a leaving power. In 1767, Yale ceased to seat her students according to the social rank and dignity of their parents, and, in 1770, Harvard followed her example. The democratic die was cast by religion with its promulgation of salvation to all men who became converted and regenerate. The Rubicon was crossed when the sons of all men sat as equals in the chapels and recitation halls of the higher learning. The gospel of brotherhood, like every other force for the elevation and betterment of man, came down from above.

**A Levelling
Process**

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE

FROM the fact that in the first three quarters of the eighteenth century there were not a few creditable literary productions in the American Colonies, it might be inferred that the general state of culture had advanced, for as has been said in an earlier division of this narrative in the seventeenth century there was practically no good work produced in literature. But the contrary appears to be true. The average culture had declined. The larger literary output of the eighteenth century was the result, not of a higher culture, but of an improved economic condition and of an increasing isolation from European influences. The improved economic condition gave to more persons the opportunity of leisure, while the greater alienation in spirit from the Old World developed an American individuality, which began to seek literary expression. Were we to study English literature and history for this same period, we should see the alienation of England from the Continent and a development of the insular and, to a degree, the insolent spirit. Thus, American provincialism was being formed at the same time as English insularity; and the political collision is seen to have been

**Literary
Provincial-
ism**

inevitable. The eighteenth century saw in England Addison, Steele, Swift, Defoe, Pope, Richardson, Smollett, Thomson, Fielding, Johnson, Gray, Goldsmith, Wesley, Hume, and Burke. In America, the period presented, as writers, Cotton Mather, Samuel Sewall, Jonathan Edwards, William Byrd, Benjamin Franklin, John Woolman, Thomas Hutchinson, Jean Hector Saint-John de Crèvecoeur, John Dickinson, and several rhymesters; in all the list, there are but two immortals.

The chief characteristic of the times was the separation, to a degree in fact and almost wholly in sentiment, of Church and State. The English political and religious tradition and the desire of the Puritans for a theocracy had both failed. This separation at once made the State superior, for the power to tax is the real power in civilized society. Coincident with this movement for the independent Church, which must stand or fall upon the merit of its services to the interests and needs of human nature, came the emancipation of the mind from the bonds of ecclesiasticism and theology. Another important characteristic of the period was the development of periodicals and pamphlets, clearly displaying the activity of the colonial mind and its aroused interest in the affairs of present-day circumstance. This active interest was the kernel of the new Americanism, which was to grow into nationality.

With these few general remarks, we may pass to a necessarily brief consideration of those authors who serve best to illuminate the story of our literature in the first three quarters of the eighteenth century.

Most ponderous, if only because the most voluminous, of all, the writer of nearly four hundred works, was Cotton Mather, who lived to read and who read to make books. Master Cotton Mather of seven languages, quoting from the literatures of them all, pedant, would-be theocrat in the days of the decline of the Puritan theocracy, believer in visions and witches and devils, severe, pious, painfully conscientious, neglectful of his family, a sincere reformer of society, the great Mather rises before us, an overloaded and pathetic figure, a warning example of learning run mad, a lesson of the need of constant competent criticism to which good heed is given. There was in Mather the making of a really great man. He believed in the State-Church and in the Church-State, in scholarship, in sound morals, in Christian duty; but he lacked tact, insight, balance, art. We remember him for the thousand folio pages of the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, in which we are told of the punishments God inflicted upon Quakers, Baptists, and schismatics generally, and upon the absentees from church worship. He believed in the mission of New England:

“‘T is possible, that our Lord Jesus Christ carried some Thousands of *Reformers* into the Retirement of an *American Desert*, on purpose, that with an opportunity granted unto many of his Faithful Servants, to enjoy the precious *Liberty* of their *Ministry*, tho’ in the midst of many *Temptations* all their days, He might there *To* them first, and then *By* them, give a Specimen of many good Things, which He would have his Churches elsewhere aspire and arise unto.”

Of the clean-minded, placid, good Judge Samuel

Sewall of Boston, we may enter only a note. He wrote the first American anti-slavery pamphlet, *The Selling of Joseph*, and a *Diary* that ranks with the best of its kind in literature, the complete revelation of an honorable life important in its day and generation. In this connection may be set the few words for which there is space regarding the Quaker mystic, John Woolman, who by his travels, as recorded in his *Journal*, cleansed his sect of the evil of Negro slavery. He both lived and preached the principle that whatever luxury fosters, or is supported by, poverty is sinful. When in England, he would not ride in the post-carriages because he knew that the drivers were overworked and underpaid. His literary writings were spiritual in thought and beautifully clear in expression.

The immortal Edwards has been described as "the Dante of the New World," a phrase quite as appropriate as that applied to Mather, "the literary behemoth of New England." The metaphysician and mystic ranged through all the heights and depths of life; and in his books and sermons has left many a passage of terrible power, of exquisite beauty, of clearest truth. Almost untouched by public or even by practical private affairs, he dreamed not only of the "everlasting wrath" of God, but also of "the ravishment" of divine love. His intellectual acumen was not without its accompaniment of emotional power; and though he was of poor presence and inferior voice, his preaching aroused universal enthusiasm. The

leader in the "Great Awakening," he created in seven colonies the first general sentiment, a religious public opinion. This new "social mind" continued in the mass of Americans and was the seed-ground for the patriotism that resulted in the Revolution. Not the aristocrats, not the recent immigrants, not the lower mob, but the native born middle class, taught by Edwards the fear of hell and the hope of heaven, became the heart of colonial America and the force that moved toward independence.

This terrific logician, this philosopher and scientist, hampered as a writer by becoming a defender of Calvinism, produced what is perhaps the most beautiful piece of literature that has come down to us from colonial times. Of the girl Sarah Pierrepont, who afterwards became his wife and the mother of his eight children, he wrote, at the age of twenty-two, these words illumined by the glow of his romantic passion:

"They say there is a young lady in New Haven who is beloved of that great Being who made and rules the world, and that there are certain seasons in which this great Being, in some way or other invisible, comes to her and fills her mind with exceeding sweet delight and that she hardly cares for anything except to meditate on Him; that she expects after a while to be received up where he is, to be raised up out of the world and caught up into heaven; being assured that he loves her too well to let her remain at a distance from Him always. There she is to dwell with Him, and to be ravished with His love and delight forever. Therefore, if you present all the world before her, with the richest of its treasures she disregards and cares not for it, and is unmindful of any pain or affliction. She has a strange sweetness in her mind, and singular purity in her affections; is most just and conscientious in all her conduct; and you could not persuade her to

do anything wrong or sinful, if you would give her the whole world, lest she should offend this great Being. She is of a wonderful calmness, and universal benevolence of mind; especially after this great God has manifested himself to her mind. She will sometimes go about from place to place singing sweetly; and seems to be always full of joy and pleasure, and no one knows for what. She loves to be alone, walking in the fields and groves, and seems to have some one invisible always conversing with her."

Assuredly, the young lover draws a pleasant picture, not only of the maiden but also of "the great Being" who made her. We may question his theology and doubt whether this passage is not anthropomorphic rather than theistic; but we are not likely to question the exquisite quality of his English, nor may we doubt the high endowments of a lady whose descendants have included almost as many famous men as trace their line to Anne Bradstreet, the "tenth Muse" of seventeenth-century New England.

Despite the popular opinion, Edwards was not only and always the man of terror who pictured God as delighting in the punishment of the unredeemed in the fires of the lower world. The great metaphysician could draw a very different picture:

"When we are delighted with flowers, meadows, and gentle breezes, we may consider that we see only the emanation of the sweet benevolence of Jesus Christ. When we behold the fragrant rose and lily, we see His love and purity. So the green trees and fields and singing of birds are the emanation of His infinite joy and benignity. The easiness and naturalness of trees and vines are shadows of His beauty and loveliness. The crystal rivers and murmuring streams are the footsteps of His favor, grace, and beauty. When we behold

the light and brightness of the sun, the golden edges of an evening cloud, or the beauteous bow, we behold the adumbrations of His glory and goodness; and in the blue sky, of His mildness and gentleness. There are also many things wherein we may behold His awful majesty: in the sun in his strength, in comets, in thunder, in the hovering thunder-cloud, in rugged rocks, and the brow of mountains. That beauteous light with which the world is filled in a clear day is a lively shadow of His spotless holiness and happiness and delight in communicating Himself."

One might almost say with truth that Benjamin Franklin, "the Prometheus of the New World," as he was called by his contemporary, the immortal philosopher, Immanuel Kant, **Benjamin Franklin** was everything that Jonathan Edwards was not. A just history of the entire eighteenth century in America would be one long eulogy in celebration of the contributions to his fellowmen of "the runaway Yankee" in Philadelphia. We must call him our first great man of letters, our first scientist, our first politician, our first genuine business man possessing "the Midas touch," our first journalist, our first humorist, our first diplomat, our first educator, our great utilitarian philosopher, our first American; but when all our praise is ended, we must still write, "Not satisfied." We mourn over the indefatigable Cotton Mather, wishing that some one endowed with common sense and literary art had taught him how to harness his Niagara of words; we mourn over Jonathan Edwards, wishing that he could have remained a tutor at Yale and a man of letters; but the mourning is as nothing compared with the incurable sorrow that Franklin was what he was in character,—worldly wise, unideal, a man

of policy. Yet even in letters, which were but a small part of his life, Benjamin Franklin, the true universal genius (incomprehensible and incredible to most lesser men), rendered a service to America for which the gratitude of patriots will be for ever due: he taught all the world to respect us. His best-known work, *Poor Richard's Almanac*, was translated into every important European language, and unknown millions of copies have been sold. He felt and published this democratic truth,—“A ploughman on his legs is higher than a gentleman on his knees.” That is the essence of all his preaching of thrift,—Work, save, rise in the world. He believed in Cotton Mather's *Essays to do Good*, and he undertook to teach his countrymen how to acquire the power to do good. He was fortunate in going to Philadelphia, where there was room for an ingenious young man with no particular education and with no special morals despite good home-rearing; he did a vast work there for the city of his adoption. It was no accident that Philadelphia became the greatest community in the colonies; where Franklin was, the center was. There was instituted many a first enterprise, including, in 1771, the first daily newspaper in America, the *Pennsylvania Packet*.

The immortal book by Franklin is the *Autobiography*, but that belongs to a later period. It proved that he practised his preaching,—“Diligence is the mother of good luck.” His great figure projects itself so huge athwart the Revolutionary and Constitutional period that we are apt to forget the date of his birth, 1706. Franklin was a colonial who survived to become national and international.

To John Dickinson of Philadelphia, we may attribute in no small degree the public sentiment that found expression in the Revolution. His *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies* appeared in 1767. The author was, to be sure, not a

John Dickinson

farmer, but a scholarly lawyer who had studied for three years at the Middle Temple, London; but his ideas, though legal, appealed to the American agricultural and commercial mind. From these letters, from his many newspaper articles, and from several political papers drafted by him, he became known as "the penman of the American Revolution."

Thomas Hutchinson, the Tory governor, whose house was sacked by a Boston mob, was the author of a sane, thorough, dignified *History of Massachusetts*, which, though not a great work, will live because of its accuracy and significance. If the author had not become an exile, our first valuable historical investigation would have received as high praise in the past as the cooler temper of the future is certain to accord to it.

Thomas Hutchinson

Jean Hector Saint-John de Crèvecoeur, a native-born Frenchman, resident in New York, wrote at this time our first literary description of the American:

Crèvecoeur

"What then is the American, this new man? He is either a European, or a descendant of a European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons now have wives of different nations. *He* is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones

from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater.

Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigour, and industry which began long since in the East; they will finish the great circle. The Americans were once scattered all over Europe; here, they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared and which hereafter will become distinct by the power of the different climates they inhabit. The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labour, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence.—This is an American."

Colonel William Byrd of Westover, Virginia, was a breezy gentleman who wrote with much humor and fine taste. Of the Dismal Swamp, he declared:

**William
Byrd**

"We found the ground moist and trembling under our feet like a quagmire. . . . [Finally] we reached a small piece of firm land, about one hundred yards wide, standing up above the rest like an island. Here the people were glad to lay down their loads and take a little refreshment, while the happy man whose lot it was to carry the jug of rum, began already, like Æsop's bread-carriers, to find it grow a good deal lighter. . . . Since the surveyors had entered the Dismal, they had laid eyes on no living creature; neither bird nor beast, insect nor reptile came in view. Doubtless the eternal shade that broods over this mighty bog, and hinders the sunbeams from blessing the ground, makes it an uncomfortable habitation for anything that has life. Not so much as

a Zealand frog could endure so aguish a situation. . . . In these sad circumstances the kindest thing we could do for our suffering friends was to give them a place in the Litany. Our chaplain for his part did his office, and rubbed us up with a seasonable sermon. This was quite a new thing to our brethren of North Carolina, who live in a climate where no clergyman can breathe, any more than spiders in Ireland."

This patrician, man of the world, founder of Richmond, manages to convey a good deal of instructive information along with his little jokes. North Carolina was never a source of pride to Virginia: too many of her own native-born scamps had taken refuge there.

Of poetry and verse, there was an abundance in the colonial period. Clergymen, governors, teachers, a precocious Negro girl, many ladies, **Art** all tried their hands at rhyme. Scarce a line is to-day worth reading. A few plays were written, of no significance either literary or historical. Art was in its beginnings. Benjamin West, a native-born American, was spending most of his time in Europe, making a great name as an artist, while John Singleton Copley, an Englishman, had begun his famous portraits of Americans. Art, indeed, in the large sense of the term, was entirely outside of the lives of Americans. Even their good writing was accidental, was written "with a purpose," and embodied various truths in appropriate forms, because truth when seen clearly has a certain grace in its own nature that tends to render its expression beautiful. Even Cotton Mather at times wrote well; even Franklin, who was scarcely more the artist than he was the saint, produced a few beautiful passages,

and Edwards could not escape success in his peculiar *rôle* as the "artist of damnation." His awful sincerity gave to his style grandeur and sublimity.

The War of Independence was to come with its new and overwhelming interest, so that for a century afterwards as a people we were almost forgetful that there ever was a colonial period with singular provincialisms in thought, aspiration, and expression.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL LIFE

DURING the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the earliest years of the twentieth, so great has been the interest in colonial, pre-Revolutionary affairs that most persons who **Colonialism** care for literature, art, and history are quite as familiar with the social conditions prevailing a hundred and fifty years ago as with those that prevail at the present time in remote sections of our country. We know colonial society quite as well as the contemporary people who are not within our immediate neighborhood. Modern New England, indeed, knows colonial New England rather better than it knows California. The West and the Lower South have that pride in ancestry which leads to no little curious inquiry into conditions during the early days of the Carolinas, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts. Not a few beautiful colonial houses have survived the fifteen intervening decades to tell us how our forefathers lived. The architect, with an eye to the artistic, insists on reproducing in new houses the best features of the old homes. What with modern colonial houses, colonial fireplaces, colonial andirons, colonial furniture, colonial candlesticks, and colonial dresses, and what with the

'genuinely antique harpsichords, clocks, tables, pictures, we are surrounded and conquered by colonialism. One might suppose that our worthy ancestors numbered many millions of people with many hundred thousands of homes. In fact, when the First Continental Congress convened at Philadelphia, the white people had reached scarcely two and a quarter millions. Any one of a dozen States has more people to-day. The single city of New York has almost twice as many inhabitants.

To judge by the facts, a surprisingly large proportion of the colonials had spacious and comfortable homes, as roominess and comfort were understood in those days of the spinning-wheel, of the tallow-candle, of the back- and forelogs, of the warming-pan, and of the well-sweep. The coach and the sedan-chair of the people of fashion, the chaise and the pillion, the periwig, the lace and silk and velvet of men and women alike, the Louis-Quinze chair, the latticed window, the high bedstead, the cradle to be tucked away under it, the marvelous counterpane, the punch-bowl, the child's hornbook, the long musket, the light rifle, the door-knocker, the lantern, the candle-snuffer, the waffle-iron, the tankard, the churn, the cider-mill, the loom-shuttle, the rag-carpet, stays, buckles, all manner of articles of attire,—these are but suggestions of all that has come down to us from antiquity, across the gulf of the Revolution.

It is so obvious to us that the colonial age was mechanically a primitive, though picturesque time, that there is no need to dwell upon this aspect of the period. Our concern is with essential likenesses

and contrasts with the century that preceded and with the modern time.

The most important changes from the conditions of the seventeenth century were the development of a frontier with almost perfect security for the regions between it and the sea, the prodigious increase in population, particularly that of the Negro, the further utilization of his labor, domestic and agricultural, the very great increase in wealth with the consequent appearance of leisure and luxury, the beginnings of social relations between the inhabitants of different colonies, and the partial reduction of classes, the so-called "leveling" of social grades and ranks. As our people grew rich and powerful, we grew democratic,—a singular combination, unique in world history. As the frontier advanced north, west, and south, and as the safety of the mass of the inhabitants increased, we grew more warlike, for the frontier was driven forward by gunpowder. The very presence of the black slaves tended to make all the whites equal: there were two castes, the inferior Africans, the superior Europeans. Mere residence and proximity made foreigners and aliens patriots and friends, and the separation from Old World associations tended to destroy old traditions of the gentleman, the workman, and the servant. Redemptioners worked out their terms, then earned good wages, saved their money, bought land for little or nothing, engaged in trade on land and sea, grew rich and influential. In a decade or two of residence here, English convicts were metamorphosed into deacons and vestrymen, judges and

**Progress of
the Period**

colonels. The process was on a small scale, it is true, and examples were not numerous, because the population itself was small; but the American principle had become established: Forgive seventy times seven; try him over again; take him at his present value; let him rise if he can; let the dead past bury its dead. It was the good old gospel at work in a rich new world. Of course, some opposed, even resisted, this radicalism, this faith in the root-truth of humanity that conversions slow and sudden alike are possible and actual; the plowboy may be fit to become a merchant prince. All the world was astonished to see the heterogeneous, crude, widely scattered population of the colonies demonstrate infallibly the ethical and the economic values of opportunity. In this view, the Revolution was a mere result, an inevitable outcome of irresistible forces: the Americans had outgrown aristocracy and monarchy, could not be subject to king and lords and great families that inherited power whether they deserved it or not. Such, in substance, was the essential transformation of colonial society in the period from the Treaty of Ryswick to that of the First Congress. *Nova ordo sæclorum* was indeed written upon the face of American humanity,—the new order of the ages.

In the period under review, there were three kinds of rich families in the colonies,—the merchants whose ships traded in many parts of the world, the patroons and other great landlords, and the planters. The merchants were in all the towns, but, in the absence of great landlords and slavelords, were especially prominent in New England. Though they lived in considerable

**The
Wealthy
Classes**

comfort, giving to their wives and children not a few of the luxuries of the times, they were prudent and thrifty, and most of their great profits were invested to make yet greater gains. Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston all saw great fortunes won in trade. These fortunes, expressed in terms of English specie, look small at the present time, but in the power to purchase labor (as Franklin proved, the first Anglo-Saxon to realize it) they were comparable with the possessions of the lesser millionaires of modern America. The second kind of rich man of the colonial period was the great landowner, whose income was derived in part from farming his lands himself, but in larger part in renting them. These great landlords were mostly in New York upon the Hudson river, but there were not a few others, particularly in Pennsylvania and Maryland. That the New York patroons, by their inertness in all matters of progress and by their exactions of heavy rents, retarded the development of the colony is indubitable; the region has not yet recovered. These landlords were not a spendthrift race, but were prudent like the merchants. Less ambitious and enterprising than either the merchants or the planters, they did almost nothing toward the development of the colonies in culture. The most picturesque kind of colonial rich man was the planter, who was exclusively a Southern product. He was ambitious like the merchant, but neither prudent nor thrifty. Only the marvelous fertility of the new soils and the estate in fee tail male saved him from poverty. He borrowed money freely that he might buy slaves for his plantations and silks for

his wife and daughters. No creditor could seize his lands. He owned his labor and, therefore, needed but little cash capital for current expenditures, though his slaves represented a great investment. His produce, whether tobacco, rice, or indigo, was sure of a market; and his factors and sea-captains grew rich by handling his merchandise in England and France. In fact, though not in name, he was a lord, ruling often a considerable territory. A plantation of ten thousand acres was not uncommon. The neighbors of a great planter were his clients and, in many instances, his dependents, glad to secure employment regular or occasional, on land or sea, in any part of his business. The planter himself became masterful, ease-loving, luxurious in his tastes, while his wife and daughters followed the fashions of London as closely as the slow sea-communication of the time permitted. Sometimes, a son was sent to England for his higher education. The picture of manor-life in the South is familiar to us all, for it is a staple of modern fiction.

A civilization may be measured in terms of freedom. Whether, in the beginning of human society, we were creatures of the horde that
Freedom owned everything and everybody, or subjects of the strong man who had mastered the band and owned them all, the advance out of that condition has been up the pathway of liberty, each new right of the individual marking a stage in the progress of civilization. In the twentieth century in America, our great freedoms may be enumerated as the freedom of transit, the freedom of trade (at least, within our national boundaries), freedom of the

person, freedom to think, to speak, to write, and to print, to own land, to assemble, to vote, and to hold office. Civilization may be measured by the number of these freedoms and by the extent of their diffusion throughout society,—that is, by the proportion of persons who possess these liberties. Conversely, civilization may be measured by the limitations of the freedoms of the community or of the strong man to restrain individuals from travel and trade; to imprison them without trial; to suppress their thought, speech, writing, and publication; to exclude them from land; to take from them, by fraud, force, proscription, or law, any part of their property, income, or earnings; to break up their assemblies; and to rule them without their consent. Did space permit, we might measure American colonial civilization in these terms. Upon such measure, the conclusion would be that the years from 1775 to 1904 had gained more for Americans than the years 1607 to 1774, great though the earlier gains certainly were. In briefer space, we might trace the operation of the *habeas corpus*, a new English freedom from the reign of Charles II., but not extended to the colonies till half a century later. But we must content ourselves with a mere typical instance of the victory of individuals over rulers,—the famous trial of Zenger, printer.

John Peter Zenger was a Palatinate German, born in the year of the Treaty of Ryswick, and an emigrant to New York at thirteen years of age. In 1733, he started a paper in opposition to the *New York Gazette*, which was a government organ. This paper he called *The Weekly*

Zenger's
Trial

Journal. To make it at once interesting and useful, he proceeded to attack the governor and council, who no doubt deserved much of his criticism. In November, 1734, the colonial government declared four numbers of the paper "seditious," and ordered the public hangman to burn all copies. By resolution, the mayor and aldermen instructed the hangman to disobey the governor, whereupon he ordered the county sheriff to burn them in a public bonfire before the pillory. This the sheriff did. Then the governor, William Cosby, sometimes styled in contemporary accounts "the brutal Cosby," imprisoned Zenger and requested the colonial assembly to concur in his prosecution. The assembly declined so to do. Here were all the elements of a great public excitement,—governor and council against assembly and aldermen. All the legal moves may not now be followed in detail,—the failure of the indictment, the bringing of an "information" for "false, scandalous, malicious, and seditious libels," the attack on the commissions of the judges of the court of trial, and the disbarment of the lawyers of Zenger for contempt of court. The substance of the "libels" was in these words:

"We see men's deeds destroyed, judges arbitrarily displaced, new courts erected, without consent of the legislature, by which . . . trials by juries are taken away when a governor pleases; men of known estates denied their votes, contrary to the received practice of the best exposition of any law. Who is there in that province that can call anything his own, or enjoy any liberty longer than those in the administration will condescend to let them?"

A new lawyer, Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia,

set up as defence that the libel was true. In England, at the time, this was no defence. Before the court he made a speech of vast importance, reminding the jury of the Star Chamber, and expounding the Bible with regard to rulers, and ended thus:

“Men who injure and oppress the people under their administration provoke them to cry out and complain, and then make that very complaint the foundation for new oppressions. . . . the question before the court and you, gentlemen of the jury, is not of small or private concern; it is not the cause of a poor printer nor of New York alone which you are now trying. No! it may in its consequences affect every freeman that lives under a British government on the main of America! It is the best cause, it is the cause of liberty, and I make no doubt but your upright conduct this day will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow-citizens, but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you, as men who have baffled the attempt of tyranny and by an impartial and uncorrupt verdict have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors, that to which Nature and the laws of our country have given us a right,—the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power . . . by speaking and writing truth.”

Such was the plea of the venerable Quaker lawyer, then in his eightieth year, and the jury responded nobly by a verdict of “Not guilty,” though Justice De Lancey charged them not to consider the truth a defence. In that hour, democracy as expressed by the Pennsylvania lawyer and by the New York jury won a notable victory; democracy in the persons of cheering crowds vociferously applauded the verdict; and to this day, democracy has never failed to support the principle of free speech. The verdict of the

unterrified jury was backed so strongly by public sentiment that the learned court, the aristocratic council, and the "brutal" governor dared not set it aside. It cleared the atmosphere of American society. In truth, the free press has transformed the world of the mind by permitting the sincere products of its spontaneous activity to be sown as seed-thoughts in every field of human endeavor. This victory was won in America a generation before the great struggle of Wilkes in England.

By 1774, New York had grown to a population of twenty thousand, but was still the third city in rank.

The Greater Cities Philadelphia had passed Boston and was the largest city in the New World. Its population was some thirty-five thousand.

In all, about one hundred thousand colonials lived in a dozen communities of over four thousand population. The country, as a whole, was rural. North of Mason and Dixon's line there were many towns, villages, and hamlets; south of it, communities of people were very few. Charleston and Savannah were the largest Southern centers of population. Nine-tenths of all the people of the colonies lived upon the seacoast or upon the navigable waterways. In the North, roads for horses ran between nearly all

The Roads the important centers, but the best of them were poor enough. One might travel from Philadelphia to Boston by wagon-roads: with good weather, the distance could be covered in two weeks. Most merchants with business to transact involving travel preferred the water-routes along the coast.

In an earlier division of this narrative, an account

was given of local government by town-meeting in New England, and by county and parish in the South, during the seventeenth century. In the North, there grew far greater freedom in all matters of residence, trade, and suffrage in the eighteenth century than had prevailed earlier; but, in the South, no particular change took place in either the form or the spirit of local political and religious government. Everywhere bond-servants and redemptioners were relatively fewer than in the earlier days, though neither class had entirely disappeared in any part of the colonies. By 1774, the immigration of convicts had almost wholly ceased. All immigration, indeed, was very small, and consisted chiefly of large parts of single communities or of enterprising adventurers. We hear, for example, of a land-company that "boomed" a section of Pennsylvania as possessing fine water-power, timber, fertile soil, and a convenient site for a village. Several hundred Germans, all neighbors, bought liberally and then emigrated, to find themselves penniless upon a barren mountainside with but scanty water-supply.

Local Government

In the matter of punishments for crime, the record of the eighteenth century is not much better than that of the seventeenth. A hundred offences were still punished with death, and the vulgar and coarse multitude still rejoiced in a hanging. Slaves and bond-servants were cruelly beaten and were maltreated in many other ways. Neither the life nor the person of an inferior was held as sacred as that of the superior. As we read the record, we are astonished at the childish severity of our forefathers,—an astonishment that

Punishments

ends in the mortification and shame of the mobbings and lynchings of which our own contemporaries are guilty. And yet, in one respect at least, the record of the century shows improvement,—there was a growing humanitarianism manifested in the fact that there was less of personal vindictiveness in the execution of the law, less of rage and hate against the offender.

Considered in the whole, the colonies had not only grown in population, in extent of territory occupied, and in wealth, but also in facilities of intercommunication, in social order, in literacy and culture, in sympathy, in the human spirit of self-respect and regard for others, and in the attractiveness of daily life. Among colonial Americans, there was a remarkably large number of men and women of individual talent, of moral fiber, and of social poise. Foreigners and Englishmen traveling in America commented upon the self-possession, the readiness, the spirit of our people, and the unusually large number of persons of independent character. The colonials who made the voyage to England or to France attracted very favorable attention. In business, in diplomacy, in conversation, they held their own with the men and women who graced the finest circles of Europe. In truth, the English colonials had found the way to power, which is the way of individual development by effort in the presence of opportunity. This is the power, not of brute force, not of hereditary privilege, not of courtly servility which seeks and finds by indirection, and not even of intellectual superiority which is itself more or less accidental, but the power

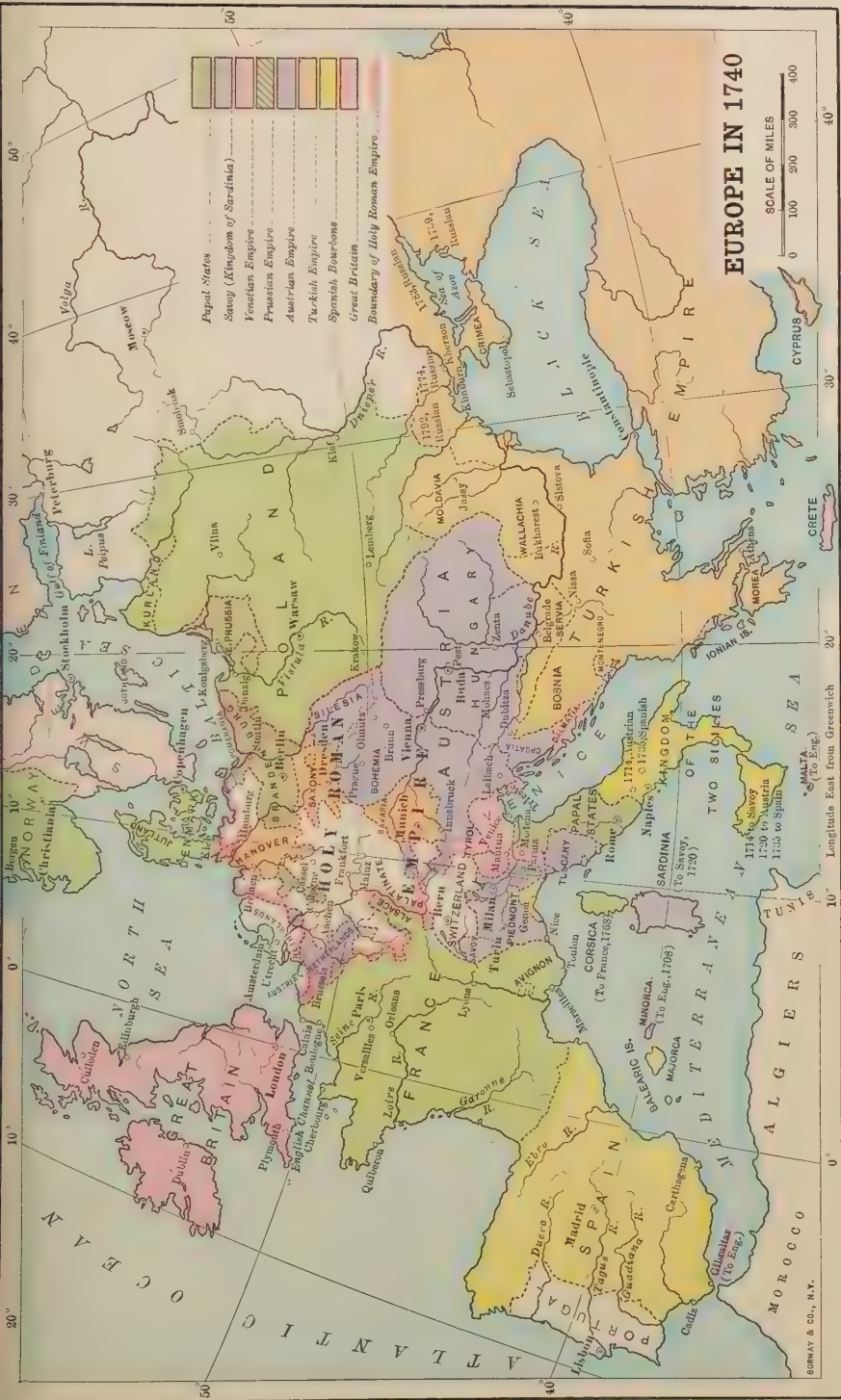
**The
Colonial
Character**

of insight into human nature from experiencing in a state of freedom a great variety of social relations. This experience disciplines and improves even those of but mediocre natural talent. The colonials knew the largeness of life, and their knowledge gave them wisdom for the conduct of affairs. It remained for the people of the coming decades to show how fast and how far, in a land of marvelous natural resources, humanity may travel toward those ideals which by common consent are now summed in the one term, —progress.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—MORALS—1698-1774

[NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.]

- 1698, Phila.—First Baptist Church.—Cal.—Spanish missions under Father Keno.
—Carolina.—Dissenters consent to support one minister of the Church of England.
- 1699, R. I.—First Protestant Episcopal parish at Newport.
- 1700, R. I.—A Friends' Yearly Meeting established at Newport.—Mass.—Roman Catholics and Jesuits banished.—N. Y.—Every popish-priest to be hung.—Pa.—Penn frees his slaves.
- 1701, Pa.—Religious liberty established.
- 1702, Md.—English Church established.—N. Y.—The Governor falsifies his commission that he may aid the Church of England.
- 1703, N. Y.—King's Farm granted to Trinity Church.—Va.—Church revenues collected in tobacco.
- 1704, N. C.—Church of England established.
- 1705, Phila.—First American Presbytery organized (7 members).—Va.—Slaves made real estate.
- 1706, Conn.—Fine of 20s. for absence from church.—Mich.—Mackinaw mission abandoned.
- 1707, Phila.—Association of Baptist Churches formed.
- 1708, Conn.—"Saybrook platform" of discipline formulated.
- 1709, N. Y.—Slave market at foot of Wall Street.
- 1710, N. Y.—3,000 persecuted Palatines arrive (Lutheran Church formed).—Calvinism predominates in New England; Quakerism in Pennsylvania; Catholicism in Maryland and Florida; and Episcopacy in New York, Virginia, and the Carolinas.
- 1711, N. C.—Royalists describe the population as made up of "Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, and other evil disposed persons." It is commonly known as "The Sanctuary of the Runaways."
- 1713,—Many Irish Presbyterians arrive: fugitives from the Test Act.
- 1714, Va.—A Baptist Church at Burleigh.
- 1715, R. I.—Roman Catholics disfranchised.—Md.—A fine of 1,500 lbs. of tobacco for carrying liquor to Indians.
- 1718, Pa.—German Baptists (Dunkers) arrive.
- 1719, N. H.—Names of drunkards posted.—La.—500 Negroes imported.
- 1721, Mich.—Mackinaw mission reopened.
- 1722, Conn.—Effective beginning of Protestant Episcopal Church.
- 1724, Me.—Father Rasles, Catholic missionary, killed in battle at Norridgewock.
- 1727, Pa.—First theological school in America: the "Log College," at Neshaminy.
- 1729, Boston.—The Old South Church erected.—N. Y.—Many Jews arrive.
- 1733, Pa.—A monastic society formed at Ephrata.—N. J.—A Negro burned alive for assault upon a white woman.
- 1734, Conn.—Mission station opened among the Housatonics.—Mass.—The "Great Awakening" under Jonathan Edwards.—Ga.—Slavery and the import of rum forbidden.



- 1736, Ga.—The Wesleys begin their work (Return to England 1737).
 1739.—Whitefield preaches in several colonies and raises much money for his orphan asylum.—Pa.—Presbyterian Synod in conflict over Whitefield.
 1739-41, New Eng.—Whitefield's revival.
 1742, Conn.—The General Assembly enacts severe laws against the "New Lights."—Harvard and Yale against Whitefield.—Pa.—Muhlenberg opens a new epoch for Lutherans.
 1744, Va.—Mobs persecute Baptists.
 1748, Phila.—First Lutheran Synod in America.
 1750, Boston.—Contention drives Jonathan Edwards from his church.—N. J.—President of Princeton College drew a £200 lottery prize.—Mass.—Theatrical exhibitions forbidden.
 1750 (about), N. J.—Lotteries made illegal.—Ga.—Slavery adopted.
 1752, N. Y.—Opposition to religious schools.
 1754, Va.—Travel and shooting on the Sabbath forbidden.
 1758, Pa.—"Synod of New York and Philadelphia" organized (union after a separation of thirteen years).
 1760, R. I. Newport has about 650 slaves.—N. Y.—Philip Embury, first Methodist preacher in America, arrives.
 1761, N. J.—St. Mary's church at Burlington repaired by an especially authorized lottery.
 1762.—Lotteries common in some colonies.
 1765, Boston.—The Liberty Tree consecrated.
 1766, N. Y.—Methodism introduced.—Pa.—The Presbyterian Synod and the Congregational Association of Connecticut unite against a proposal to make the Episcopal church the established church of the colonies.
 1768, N. Y.—John Street Methodist Church dedicated.—Phila.—First Methodist meetings in a sail-loft.
 1770, N. J.—The Reformed Dutch obtain a College charter: Final result, Rutgers.—At Good Luck, John Murray, founder of the Universalist Church, preaches his first sermon.
 1771, R. I.—The Six-Principle Baptists secede.—A work published in 1771 discusses the "lawfulness and advantages" of instrumental music in church.
 1772, N. Y.—English Shakers arrive.
 1773, Boston.—The Old South Church, "the seed-bed of rebellion," was one of the meeting-places of patriots to discuss the tea question.
 1774.—Presbytery of the Reformed Presbyterian Church is formed.—Phila.—Samuel Adams, a "stiff Congregationalist," moves the appointment of Jacob Duché, Episcopalian, as chaplain of the Colonial Congress.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—EDUCATION—1698-1774

[NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.]

- 1700, Va.—The College of William and Mary graduates its first class.
 1701, Conn.—Yale College ("the collegiate school of Connecticut") receives its charter and is "formally opened" at Saybrook, but for several years the classes were taught at Clinton, then Killingworth.
 1702, Conn.—Yale's only student, until September, was Jacob Hemingway; then seven more entered.
 1703, N. Y.—The rector and wardens of Trinity Church instructed to plan the opening of a college, but it was over half a century before the school was opened.
 1710, N. Y.—Trinity School established.
 1712, S. C.—A "free" school established.
 1716, Conn.—Yale College removed from Saybrook to New Haven.
 1718, Conn.—Yale College receives its present name.
 1733, Phila.—Benjamin Franklin (age 27) begins the study of the French, Italian, Spanish, and Latin languages, and formulates his *Art of Virtue*.

- 1735, Pa.—Franklin publishes an article on the usefulness of mathematics.
 1736, Mass.—Two men pledge \$100 per year for each of 17 Indian pupils in the Housatonic School.
 1740, Pa.—Earliest element of the University of Pennsylvania (1779).—S. C.—Teaching Negroes to write, prohibited.
 1743, Mass.—The education of Indian girls undertaken at the Housatonic school.
 1744, Pa.—American Philosophical Society planned by Franklin.
 1746, N. Y.—Bill in the Assembly to raise money by lottery to provide a college.—N. J.—Princeton College founded.
 1747, N. J.—Princeton College opened at Elizabethtown.
 1748, N. J.—Princeton College moves to Newark.—N. Y.—Governor signs a bill to raise \$9000 for a college (Columbia).
 1749, Pa.—Franklin's academy opened (chief element of the University of Pa., 1779).—Va.—Washington and Lee University founded at Greenville.
 1750, Mass.—Ninety Mohawks from New York put their children in the Stockbridge Indian School.
 1752, N. Y.—Legislative opposition to schools having connection with any religious society.
 1754, N. Y.—King's College (Columbia) opens in the vestry-room of Trinity Church, with ten students.
 1756, N. Y.—Corner-stone of King's College is laid.
 1757, N. J.—Princeton College removed from Newark to Princeton.
 1763, Md.—Frederick College organized.
 1764, Mass.—Harvard library burned (loss 6000 books).—Pa.—Medical School founded (an element of the University of Pa., 1779).—R. I.—Rhode Island College (Brown University) founded at Warren.
 1765, N. Y.—Samson Ocum visits Europe and secures \$50,000 for his Indian schools on Long Island.
 1766, N. J.—First charter for Rutgers College (inoperative).
 1768, Pa.—Phonography suggested by Franklin.
 1769, N. H.—Dartmouth College founded at Hanover.
 1770, R. I.—Rhode Island College (Brown University) moves from Warren to Providence.
 1770 (about).—Singing-schools in New England.
 1772, Del.—Dr. Witherspoon a partner in a college lottery.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—LITERATURE—1698-1774

[NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.]

- 1700, N. Y.—First public library in America ("City Library") established.—Conn.—Foundation of Yale College Library made at Branford.—Mass.—*The Selling of Joseph* [Samuel Sewall] appears.
 1702, Mass.—*Magnalia Christi Americana* [Cotton Mather].—N. J.—Queen Anne prohibits printing.
 1704-1744, Boston.—*The News Letter* (8 x 12 inches).
 1705.—*History of Virginia* [Robert Beverly].—Conn.—Printing permitted.
 1710.—*Essays to do Good* [Cotton Mather].
 1717, Boston.—A book auction.
 1718, Mass.—*Psalterium Americanum* [Cotton Mather].
 1719, Boston.—*Mother Goose*. *The Boston Gazette*. *The American Weekly Messenger*.
 1721, Boston.—*The New England Weekly Courant*. *The Christian Philosopher* [Cotton Mather].
 1723, Boston.—James Franklin imprisoned for libel: the *Courant* is, however, continued by his younger brother, Benjamin.
 1724, Pa.—A general library begun.
 1725-41, N. Y.—*The New York Gazette*.

- 1727, Md.—The *Maryland Gazette*.—La.—General library started at New Orleans.
- 1728, Pa.—Franklin writes on *Belief and Acts of Religion*.
- 1729, Pa.—*Modern Chivalry* [Brackenridge].—The *Pennsylvania Gazette* (circulation 90) purchased by Benjamin Franklin. The . . . *Necessity of a Paper Currency* [Franklin].
- 1730, S. C.—Printing permitted at Charleston.
- 1731, Phila.—First subscription library in America, founded by Franklin and his associates.—S. C.—The *South Carolina Gazette*.
- 1732, Phila.—*Poor Richard's Almanac*.
- 1733, N. Y.—The *Weekly Journal*. It criticises the government. Agitation follows and becomes a political issue.—R. I.—The *Rhode Island Gazette*, at Newport.
- 1734, N. Y.—Zenger, editor of the *Weekly Journal*, imprisoned. Public clamor secures his release.
- 1735, Pa.—A German paper published at Germantown.
- 1736, Va.—The *Virginia Gazette*, at Williamsburg.
- 1741, Phila.—The *American Magazine* (two numbers). The *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (6 numbers).
- 1742, Pa.—A public library started through Franklin's efforts.
- 1743, Pa.—A German Bible published at Germantown.—The *Boston Weekly Museum* (4 numbers).—N. Y.—The *New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*.
- 1743-45, Boston.—The *Christian History*.
- 1743-47, Boston.—The *American Magazine*.
- 1745, Boston.—The *American Monthly Magazine*.—Md.—The *Maryland Gazette*, revived at Annapolis.
- 1746, N. J.—Princeton College Library started.—A *Treatise Concerning the Religious Affections* [Edwards].
- 1747.—*Discovery and Settlement of Virginia* [Stith]. *Philosophic Solitude* [Livingston].
- 1748, S. C.—A library started.
- 1749, N. C.—Printing permitted.—An *Inquiry into* . . . *Full Communion in the Church* [Edwards].
- 1751, N. J.—Printing permitted at Woodbridge.
- 1752, N. Y.—The *Independent Reflector*. The *Mercury*.
- 1753, N. Y.—The *Pacquet*.—R. I.—The Athenium Library founded at Providence.
- 1754, N. Y.—Columbia College Library founded. A society library founded (University Place).
- 1755, Mass.—An *Inquiry into the* . . . *Freedom of the Will*. . . . [Edwards]. Conn.—The *Connecticut Gazette*, at New Haven.—N. C.—The *North Carolina Gazette*, at New Berne.
- 1756, N. H.—The *New Hampshire Gazette*, at Portsmouth.
- 1757.—The . . . *Doctrine of Original Sin* . . . [Edwards].—Phila.—The *American Magazine*.
- 1758, Mass.—The *New England Magazine*, at Boston.
- 1758-66, N. J.—*North American Magazine*, at Woodbridge.
- 1761, Del.—The *Wilmington Gazette*.—Mass.—Speech of James Otis against the Writs of Assistance.
- 1762, N. J.—The *Providence Gazette*.—A *Vindication of the* . . . *House of Representatives* [Patrick Henry].
- 1763, Ga.—The *Georgia Gazette*, at Savannah.
- 1764, Conn.—The *Connecticut Courant*, at Hartford.—*Rights of British Colonies* [Otis].
- 1765.—*Prince of Parthia*, a play [Thomas Godfrey].
- 1766, N. Y.—The *Chronicle*. The *New York Journal*.
- 1767, Conn.—The *Connecticut Journal and New Haven Post Boy*.—R. I.—College Library started at Providence.
- 1768, Boston.—Dickerson's *Liberty Song*.—*Circular Letter to each Colonial Legislature* [Adams and Otis].
- 1769.—The *Croakers* [Drake].—Phila.—The *American Magazine*. American Philosophical Society begins its publications.

- 1770, Mass.—*The Massachusetts Spy*.—*Poems on Various Subjects* . . . [Phillis Wheatley, a Negress born in Africa].
- 1771, N. Y.—*The Albany Gazette*.—McDougal (imprisoned for publishing *A Son of Liberty*) discharged.
- 1772.—*The Progress of Dulness* [Trumbull].
- 1774.—*Observations on the Boston Port Bill* [John Quincy]. *History of Redemption* [Edwards].

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—SOCIAL LIFE—1698-1774

[NOTE.—The items in all perspectives are representative, not exhaustive.]

- 1700, Pa.—Penn advocates sanctity of marriage among Negroes and frees his slaves.
- 1701, Boston.—Employment of white servants encouraged, and abolition of slavery advocated.
- 1715, N. J.—John Watson paints portraits at Perth Amboy.
- 1717, Boston.—Snow six feet deep.
- 1710-20.—Opposition to slave trade.—Slaves flee to the Spaniards in Florida.
- 1719, Mass.—Use of tea begins.
- 1720.—Clocks coming into use.
- 1721, Boston.—An inoculation controversy.
- 1730, Boston.—Smallpox carries off 500.
- 1731.—John Symbert paints Bishop Berkeley and family.
- 1732, Eng.—Benevolent colonization of Georgia proposed by Oglethorpe.—S. C.—Severe yellow-fever scourge.
- 1733, Boston and Phila.—A Lodge of Freemasons opened.
- 1738, S. C.—Disastrous Negro insurrection.
- 1740, S. C.—Destructive fire at Charleston (Congress appropriates \$100,000).
- 1741, N. Y. City.—Supposed Negro conspiracy. Four whites and eighteen Negroes hung, fourteen Negroes burned, seventy-one transported, and many imprisoned.
- 1745.—Benjamin West (seven years of age) draws his sister's portrait in black and red inks.
- 1749, Phila.—Amateurs attempt theatrical business.
- 1750, N. Y.—*Richard III.* played at a theatre on Nassau Street.—Boston.—Ottway's *Orphan* exhibited in a coffee-house on State Street. Legislature prohibits theatrical exhibitions.
- 1750 (about), Phila.—Robert Feke paints portraits.—Patience Wright models heads in relief.—Deacon Drowne makes elaborate weather-vanes.
- 1752, Va.—*The Merchant of Venice* and Garrick's *Lethe* played by English professionals at Williamsburg.—Pa.—A hospital opened.—New Eng.—Homespun goods are fashionable.—Boston.—Smallpox scourge (550 die).
- 1753, N. Y.—*Conscious Lovers* played at the Nassau Street Theatre.—Benjamin West paints the *Death of Socrates*.
- 1754, Phila.—*The Fair Penitent* played in a storehouse, corner of Cedar and Vernon Streets.
- 1756, Phila.—Benjamin West begins portrait painting.
- 1758, N. Y.—Theatre built at Cruger's Wharf.
- 1760, Mass.—John Singleton Copley sends *Boy and Tame Squirrel* to the Royal Academy.—One tenth of Boston destroyed by fire.
- 1761, R. I.—*The Provoked Husband* played at Newport.
- 1762, Phila.—Violent yellow-fever scourge.
- 1765.—Indignation over the "Stamp Act" and English attitude pervades the homes of colonists almost universally. Resolutions to use only home-made products, so far as possible, are very generally the result of personal, and intensely personal, convictions.
- 1767, N. Y.—Theatre built in John Street.
- 1769, N. Y.—*Venice Preserved* played at Albany.

- 1770, Boston.—The people greatly agitated over the "Boston Massacre."
 1770 (about).—Peale's portrait of Washington as a Virginia Colonel painted.
 1771, Boston.—John Ramage paints miniatures.—Mathew Prat paints the portrait of Colden for the New York Chamber of Commerce.
 1772.—The "Improved Order of Red Men" founded.
 1773, S. C.—A theatre opens at Charleston.—Boston.—The "Boston Tea Party" absorbs all other interests.
 1774, Boston.—The streets first lighted. The harbor closed by British war-ships. The closing of Boston harbor arouses all colonies. Contributions are sent for the poor of Boston from near and far; even from England, for the colonists have hosts of friends and sympathizers among the common people of the mother country.—Phila.—The Colonial Congress passes resolutions of non-intercourse with England, and abolishes the slave trade.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND CUSTOMS:

"Manners and customs of the Puritans prevail in New England; those of the Dutch on the banks of the Hudson; those of the Quakers along the Delaware; those of the Huguenots along the rivers of S. Carolina."—[Little.]

NEW ENGLAND LAWS PROHIBIT:

"The defrauding of creditors, in order to live in luxury; 'drinking of healths as a bad habit; wearing embroidered garments and laces, also sleeves that do not reach the wrist, these must not be more than an ell wide; the use of tobacco by such as are under twenty years of age, those who use it publicly are fined sixpence; all persons are restrained from 'swimming in the waters on the Sabbath day, or unreasonably walking in the fields or streets.' Those who refuse to vote, or serve when elected to office, are fined for want of patriotism."—[Little.]

VIRGINIA PROVIDES:

"Absence from church is punishable by fine; the wardens are sworn to report cases of drunkenness, swearing, and other vices, offenders are liable to punishment by fines at a rate of 'a shilling an oath' for swearers; ministers are to abstain from excess of drinking and riot, and are not to play cards or dice."—[Little.]

Carolina laws similar to Virginia laws.

CONTEMPORANEOUS EUROPEAN HISTORY

1697-1774

FROM the story of the earnest and often savage deeds of the men who in the New World were working out the great problems of social and individual life, we turn with curious interest to the Old World, to consider what deeds were there being achieved, what were the modes of existence, what the ends in view. We see, in the strongest relief, the elegant figure of Louis Quinze, whom Parkman styles a "pampered Sardanapalus," and whom others have likened to Helio-gabalus; and we ask whether the comparison is not unjust to the Assyrian and to the Roman. We remember that Louisbourg fortress cost a third as many livres as Versailles palace; and we ask in what measure each contributed to the power and splendor and ruin of France. We see lounging in velvet and silk the descendants of men who rode to battle, clad in two hundred pounds of iron; and we ask whether the courtier or the warrior played the greater part in the progress of civilization.

In an earlier division of this narrative, we called the sixteenth the Spanish century, the seventeenth the Dutch century, the eighteenth the French century, and the nineteenth the English century; meaning

thereby to indicate the nation whose activity was so conspicuous as to characterize the period. In a sense, the present history may be called an exposition of the forces that are likely to cause the twentieth century to be known as the American century. In the years from the Treaty of Ryswick to the outbreak of the American Revolution, the nation that occupied the center of the stage of action was the nation that was then preparing the greatest "smoke-and-flame conflagration" in the history of the world,—France. Hers was the showiest national life, hers the place immediately behind the footlights, hers the theatric splendor of the strongest imperial government. In any justly proportioned account of European history for this period, the story of France would occupy as much space as that allotted to all other nations together. In these less than eight decades, she grew vastly in wealth,—and in debt. She grew vastly in territory,—and lost New France. She developed splendidly in philosophy, literature, and art,—and prepared the fuel, the tinder, and the spark for the Revolution. In short, she produced excessive luxury and excessive poverty, the intelligence that comprehended these extremes, and the bitter popular will to smash the régime.

The Grand Monarch reigned from 1643 to 1715, his personal control dating from 1661. His first purpose was to be, in all matters, the real ruler,—legislator, judge, executive. Despite his faults, he was a tremendously hard worker. He loved what he called "the trade of a king." All lordships, city guilds, Church and State nobilities, the States-General, village rights,

Louis
Quatorze

became completely subordinated to the royal will. The king was the fountain of all authority,—the stream into whose current all influences flowed. The second purpose of Louis XIV. was to make the House of Bourbon as supreme throughout Europe as it was in France. This necessitated the reduction of the House of Hapsburg, to which end he fought his many wars. The last of his great wars was that of the Spanish Succession. In 1700, Charles II. of Spain, dying childless, had left his throne to Duke Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV. by his wife, Maria Theresa of Spain. In his exultation, the great king exclaimed, "The Pyrenees are no more." To frustrate his purpose of uniting France and Spain, Europe formed the "Grand Alliance" (the second) against him. The resultant war lasted for thirteen years. In it, John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, won for England many a "famous victory." In the meantime, three different emperors held the imperial throne of Germany, and the "Grand Alliance" became so weak, from this and other causes, that it fell in pieces. By the Treaties of Utrecht, 1713, and Rastadt, 1714, England won Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Hudson Bay territory, Gibraltar, and Minorca; while Austria won Milan, Naples, Sardinia, and the Spanish (Catholic) Netherlands. A year later, the Grand Monarch died in extreme old age, and the populace of Paris roared and howled with delight.

After Louis Quartorze, came his great-grandson Louis Quinze, to inherit Versailles with its traditions of a luxurious magnificence that is almost incredible even in our day of multimillionaires, France with

its vast war-debts, and the throne with its excessive responsibilities. Eight years later, at the mature age of thirteen, the new Louis actually began to rule ; and a sad enough matter he made of it, for all the splendor of his wealth and power. The great Louis had been indeed a very great man, despite his big wig and high-heeled shoes, and the little, stiff-backed body between, for he knew how to select great men to serve him, and what he could not win by force, he was willing to win by persuasion or by fraud. But the pampered fop who was his successor was content to let affairs drift. The government "will last my day," said he. "After us the deluge," added his mistress and manager.

Louis
Quinze

In 1741, the War of the Austrian Succession broke out. It was caused by the fact that the kingdom of Austria had been left by the Emperor Charles VI. to his daughter Maria Theresa. Promptly upon his death, six masculine claimants, disregarding all the pledges and conditions of the Pragmatic Sanction, appeared to contest the throne of the Empire. This violation of all royal honor contributed in no slight degree to the breaking down in Europe of the idolatrous reverence for kings. After seven years of fighting, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored the territories of all the combatants much as they stood at the beginning. In 1756, the Seven Years' War broke out, at the instigation of Maria Theresa, who desired to effect the partition of Prussia and the ruin of her great enemy, Frederick the Great. She secured the sympathy of Madame de Pompadour, once mistress, now procuress to Louis of France, and virtual

ruler of his kingdom. In the course of that war, Clive by his victory over the French at Plassy laid the foundations of English power in India, and Wolfe by winning Quebec took New France from the greatest power in Europe. By the Treaty of Paris, 1763, France was greatly humiliated. Austria, too, lost much. What France and Austria lost, England and Prussia won.

In 1774, Louis XV. died. We remember him in history for the sale of *lettres de cachet* to the number of a hundred and fifty thousand, for the suppression of the Jesuits, for the final abolition of even the form of the local Parliaments, for the corner in grain by which the king was made temporarily rich while the poor were brought to famine, for the monstrous growing burden of the national debt, and most of all for the dance of delight in luxury and in vice in which the "well-beloved" Louis led his courtiers. Never in history was made more plain the desperate fallacy of the belief that the people benefit from the circulation of money for the primary interests of the rich. All the wealth of France circulated in the hands of the nobles in State and Church, and the bourgeois merchants grew rich and yet richer. It was, indeed, a happy time for lords, ladies, mistresses, prelates, jewelers, tailors, milliners, confectioners, serving-men, tax-gatherers. But the eyes of the poorer folk were growing red, and their blood was drying into fire.

From the France of Louis XIV. and of Louis XV., of John Law, Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert, we may turn to the young nations to the east,—to Prussia, the new Protestant State that was taking up sincerely

the work of searching for truth, begun but now neglected by France, and to Russia, whose tribes and hordes were learning organization under a new despotism and obedience to spiritual truth as presented in the intricate symbolism of the Greek Catholic Church. In France, a whole society was dying in a decay that was generating the gases for a tremendous explosion; in Prussia and in Russia, new societies of mankind were being formed that were destined to prodigious development and to the manifestation of tremendous energy. In the process of the formation of these new nations, much destructive as well as constructive energy was being developed. In tracing, with extreme brevity, their development, we are concerned with peoples of far more genealogical importance to the United States than the French, for among us now are millions whose ancestors dwelt by the Baltic Sea and in Little Russia in the days of Frederick the Great and of Peter the Great. Further, as a nation characterized by Protestant political institutions, we are indebted, in no easily determinable degree, to the overthrow of the Catholic powers by the sturdy free-thinkers upon whose reasoning the greatness of Prussia was founded.

The growth of Prussia, from its little nucleus of the tribe of the Lithuanian (Finno-Teutonic) Borussi in the earliest days of the seventeenth century until, at the present time, she is the dominant kingdom of the strongest empire upon the continent of Europe, is one of the most interesting features of modern history. As the House of Hapsburg has incarnated the spirit of Austria, so the House of

Hohenzollern has incarnated that of Brandenburg-Prussia. Upon the death of the Great Elector Frederick William, in 1688, his son, Frederick I., set about acquiring the title of King, which in 1701 he finally secured from the Emperor. By this concession, the duchy of Prussia became a kingdom, an event of not less importance in European history than the making of Stadtholder William of the Netherlands King of England. In 1713, that singular character, Frederick William I., came to the throne,—a man who believed in work, thrift, severity, and a big army. He left to his son a kingdom organized out of conflicting elements,—Lithuanian, German, Polish,—all habituated to service and subordination, and for the maintenance of that kingdom against all enemies, eighty thousand fighting men.

This son, Frederick II., “the Great,” for forty-six years, from 1740 to 1786, displayed a genius for war, diplomacy, and government that has made his name immortal. Like a brig-
Frederick
the Great and, he seized Silesia from Maria Theresa, and through the world-wide war that followed and at its close, held it against all his enemies. Greater even than this War of the Austrian Succession was the Seven Years’ War, in which Prussia, with less than five millions of people, found herself at war with nations numbering a hundred millions. Frederick began by winning Rossbach in battle with the French, Leuthen in battle with the Austrians, and Zorndorf in battle with the Russians. The deaths of Pitt of England and of Elizabeth and Peter III. of Russia, together with the accession of Catherine

II. to the throne of that chaotic empire, changed the face of international affairs; but by the treaties effected in 1763, Frederick won recognition for Prussia as the equal of Austria in all German affairs. The Catholic nations of France and Austria were giving way in both America and Europe to the Protestant nations of England and Prussia. In 1772, by the first "partition" of Poland, Frederick, without shadow of right, secured large additions of territory. In relation to other sovereigns a savage, within his own sovereignty Frederick was an "enlightened despot," a lover of the fine arts, a philosopher, a poet, a scholar, a builder of roads, bridges, and canals, a promoter of manufacture and agriculture, and a leader in "free thought," which in that age and upon the continent of Europe had a very different meaning from that which it possesses at the present time in America. When we remember that throughout the cataclysmal struggles of these wars, such a man as Immanuel Kant was pursuing systematically at Königsberg his severe metaphysical speculations into the nature of the human reason, we see a striking instance of the measureless value to modern humanity of the furious enthusiasm of the terrible Frederick, not only to preserve his kingdom but to extend it, and with it to spread the principles of German scientific inquiry and freedom in a world of popular superstition and dynastic arrogance. The Hohenzollerns were upstarts in the society of kings. In a sense, even they, princes though they were, stood for the right to rise in the world. They certainly stood then and now stand for the democratic liberty of the search for the truth, for the independence of the university and its

rightful claim upon government for moral, legal, and financial support without coincident interference in the scholarly activity of the faculty. The importance of this in modern life cannot be exaggerated, for the university, with its culture and its research, is an ever-flowing fountain of new life.

The nucleus of Russia was the region lying about Moscow and Nijni-Novgorod. To this region, many
Russia adventurers had migrated from Scandina-
navia about the time that the Northmen invaded France, and had speedily secured control of the more peaceful and less vigorous Finno-Slavic population. From this time forward, the princes and aristocracy were largely Teutonic in blood: the policy formally adopted by the reigning Romanoffs in the eighteenth century of marrying German princesses was perhaps an unconscious, but certainly a natural, renewal of blood-relationships. To us, who are mostly of the races of Western Europe and who are accustomed to look eastward to England, France, and Germany for cultural inspiration, the outlook of Russia westward to these same nations at first appears strange. Yet that attitude is the essential characteristic of Russian history through all the centuries. The great Tsar Peter, who reigned from 1682 to 1725, had one sole aim in view,—to civilize his people with the civilization of Western Europe. He was a man of immense efficiency, a doer of deeds, at once a destroyer, a builder, a reformer, a genius, an educator, and a savage. He won outlets for Russia upon two seas, building Peterburg, as his people fondly call the capital city, that “window out upon Europe,” preferring the name of their national hero

to that of Saint Peter whom the Tsar himself had meant to honor. He built a navy and organized a standing army. He founded libraries. He introduced many arts. He traveled extensively and brought to Russia many foreigners. The country has, indeed, always been very hospitable to strangers, especially to the Scotch and to the French, though, like most Asiatic peoples, the Russians have a bad reputation in the matter of fulfilling promises made to induce strangers to sojourn among them. By his victory over Charles XII. at Poltáva, the great Tsar prevented Sweden from accomplishing her design of making the Baltic Sea a Swedish lake. After him there came no great ruler until 1762, when Catherine II., a German princess, wife and, later, widow of Peter III., took control. We remember her for the three partitions of Poland, by which that anarchic state was removed from the map of Europe, and Russia was advanced to the limits of Germany and of Austria-Hungary,—in short, was transformed from an Asiatic to a European power. The final partition, however, was not accomplished until 1795, after the United States had come into being. The strong-willed, far-sighted, sensual Empress died a year after the accomplishment of this great purpose of Russia.

With these few glimpses of affairs upon the continent of Europe, we may review the century of the Georges in England. Succeeding "Dutch England
William," Anne Stuart reigned from 1702
till 1714, and was followed by George I., the first of the Guelphs. He came from Hanover, being the great-grandson of James I.; and he never learned

to speak English. His son, George II., ruled from 1727 to 1760, and was the last English king to fight in battle. We remember his reign for the great man of the times, Robert Walpole, who made a subject, the prime minister, a greater man in England than the king himself. This stout Tory did not believe in war, for he cared more for the riches acquired in times of peace than for the glories resplendent in the royal "hero of Dettingen." The great minister secured and maintained his power by corruption of the most flagrant sort, but he thereby laid the foundations of the democratic constitutional system of the Cabinet. Once more was illustrated the principle of history that the beginnings of real progress have often been laid in crime, sin, and wrong. Such violations of ethics and morals may be, indeed are, reprehensible. The saying of Scripture is forever true,—“Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.” For history records with shame the achievements of those who have practised the doctrine that “the end justifies the means.” And yet the bribery of Walpole and his long continuance in office did much to secure for England the population and the wealth by means of which Pitt won his triumphs. After George II., who spoke German in his domestic circle and French at court, came George III., the first of the Hanoverians who saw that England was a far more important concern to his family than Hanover. At the time of his accession, and for nearly a score of years afterwards, the elder Pitt, though not usually in office, was the greatest man in the kingdom, to which he gave

loyally and enthusiastically the service of his far-sighted genius. He renewed in Englishmen their ancient patriotism and restored and improved their ideals. In a sense, he taught them that very pride of empire which, being inseparable in their thought from the hope of commercial gain, cost them the American Colonies. He made it possible for Frederick the Great to triumph over his enemies, and thereby rendered England a power in Europe. The elder Pitt laid the foundations for the successes of Wellington.

In the eighteenth century, after the time of the brilliant victories of Marlborough upon her soil, Holland played but a minor part in **Holland** European politics. The Southern Netherlands were shifted from Spain to Austria and back again. In the meantime, Dutch commerce and agriculture flourished, while in art, philosophy, and general culture, the people continued to display that excellence which had characterized them since the rise of the republic. Despite the contagion of environing influences, the Dutch people had not yet wholly surrendered to the idea of an hereditary monarchy such as the stadtholderate tended to become. It was the misfortune of Holland to be for centuries the battle-ground upon which the great nations fought out their fearful enmities.

Spain, which in the time of the Arab domination numbered twenty millions, but which by the time of Ferdinand had declined to twelve mil- **Spain** lions, had sunk at the beginning of the eighteenth century to but six millions. At that time, the change of reigning dynasty from Hapsburg

to Bourbon took place, decidedly for the betterment of the nation. Freer trade was established between the provinces, government was strengthened and centralized, the excessive power of the clergy was curtailed, and, in a measure, industry, agriculture, and commerce revived. An army and a navy were established. The rate of taxation was lowered, while the total amount raised was greatly increased. The important sovereigns were Philip V., Ferdinand VI., and Charles III., of whom the last was the best ruler ever upon the Spanish throne. One of his most important acts was to expel the Jesuits;—a few years later, 1773, Pope Clement XIV. decreed their general suppression. By this time, Spain had so gained in population as to number nearly eleven millions. Notwithstanding all the progress that had been secured, the great mass of the people remained slothful, superstitious, and proud, the official class was incompetent and corrupt, and the dynasty was far too much interested in international politics for the good of the kingdom.

In 1774, the important nations of Europe ranked in population in this order,—Russia, the German States, France, England, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Holland. Their total population was considerably more than a hundred millions, equal to that of Germany, France, and England, combined in 1900. The first seven decades of the eighteenth century would be characterized as a warlike period but for the even more sanguinary half-century that followed. Almost the entire century was included in the American colonial period, for not until 1789 did the United

**The Activ-
ity of the
Upper
Classes**

States possess the organization of a true nation. It was a period of much philosophical and scientific speculation. We may indeed marvel how, in such stirring times of political intrigue, military struggle, and popular oppression, any men could find means and leisure for the study of books and the writing of essays. And yet the marvel disappears when we remember that in the eighteenth century the isolation of men was still primitive. Good roads were few. News passed slowly. Great popular commotions over wide areas, stirring all from king to peasant, were, as yet, impossible. Political activity was like a veneer. Only the aristocratic surface of society felt the light. The kings of France avoided the populace of Paris and idled and intrigued in the country at Versailles. Such an event as the sale of a book enriching an author was not dreamed of. Well-to-do people willing to read were very few. Of these, a much larger proportion than is now the case desired also to write and to print their views. Pamphlets were numerous. Voltaire was the paragon of pamphleteers. We may characterize the first three quarters of the eighteenth century by phrases,—such as, “the period of the early Georges of England,” “of the last of the Louis of France,” “of Franklin, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hume, Gibbon,” “of dynastic wars,” “of upper-class activity and lower-class lethargy and poverty,” “of William Pitt and Frederick the Great,” “of the decline of France and the rise of England,” and “of the ending in Western Europe of the superstition of the greatness and sanctity of kings.” All these phrases help to focus our attention upon the main point,—that

while the masses were suffering and working and making ready for the new day that was to dawn in fire and blood, the men of thought and the men of energy were riding in the chariot of the sun through the night to bring the morning.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

The plan and compass of this work do not permit in all instances the citation of authorities by volume and page. As is shown so clearly in Winsor, such a citation would involve almost as much space as the main text. The works listed below are of very unequal value and many are presented rather as suggestions for further reading than as authorities of high standing.

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NOTES

- Page 6, line 18. Rev. Dr. Andrew Burnaby in 73 describes all the colonists as characteristically idle, in comparison, of course, with the people of England. He does not wholly except even the people of the colder "Middle Settlements," that is, New England.
- Page 7. The statistics are based chiefly upon the reports of governors and commercial agents.
- Pages 17-18. For a discussion of the origin of races, see Volume I., p. 8 and p. 78, of this History.
- Page 26, line 12. "Usury," no doubt, philologically is synonymous with "interest," but practically and historically it means interest above conventional and legal usage. At the period discussed in this volume, the religious prejudice against usury and interest was beginning to give way to the commercial usefulness of capital available for loans.
- Page 36. For Chapter IV., see 71 and 72.
- Page 38. For an account of the Scotch-Irish, see 70.
- Page 47. Accounts of the marriage-relations sustained by Johnson differ radically. The best evidence supports the view presented in the text.
- Page 49. See 74 for a discussion of provincial and corporate government in the colonies.
- Page 65, line 14. The topic is further discussed in Volume III. of this History.
- Page 82, line 30. See 29.
- Page 89, line 15. See 70.
- Page 89, line 26. See 35. The so-called "Negro plot" reminds one of the Salem witchcraft mania. A combination of fires, petty thefts, and fear resulted in a popular delusion that the low-class whites and the blacks had formed a conspiracy to destroy the city by fire. Twenty-five whites and a hundred and sixty blacks were lodged in jail, upon the testimony of various wretched informers. As in the Salem matter, when the worst of the informers tried to inculcate prominent persons, the reaction set in. A feature of the general terror was a delusion that Spanish Catholics were employing the Negroes to rob and burn the city. Negro Voodooism figured in the matter. A white preacher, no doubt ignorant, was hanged, as were several other whites, who were of generally bad character. Thirteen blacks were burned at the stake, eighteen were hanged, and

seventy were sent out of the country. It is a gruesome record, at once tragic and pitiful. Even the best of the judges of the courts (as in Massachusetts six decades earlier) for a time were deceived by the hysteria of witnesses and overpowered in judgment by the popular outcry.

Page 135, line 22. The term "morals" is used here as practically synonymous with virtues. The people of the valley were almost totally irresponsible. See 24.

Page 150. For Chapter IX., see especially 75, 76, and 77. These authors represent the new and no doubt the more just views of British and American scholars regarding the Revolution.

Page 151. See 78.

Page 166. We attempt in political science to distinguish between the executive, the judicial, and the legislative branches of government. Democracy in America (as seen in our Constitutions) endeavors to draw sharp lines of distinction. But in truth much law is "judge-made," and in practical affairs the executive is often a legislator.

Page 172, line 24. The name of the Earl is spelled indifferently Loudon and Loudoun. Spelling was not a matter of much concern until literacy became common.

Page 222. See especially 75.

Page 229. This opinion reflected the Quaker influences of Philadelphia, and Franklin himself did not draw the sword in the War, but he fought equally important battles in Europe. His age precluded his taking part in the campaigns as a soldier.

Page 268. See Webb, *The Fall of Quebec*.

Page 275. See 15 (article by C. F. Adams) and 62.

Page 456. See Vol. I., p. 503, of the present History.

Page 473. See also p. 173, *supra*. The several works referred to afford a fair and illuminating view of the ability, scholarship, and love of freedom of the best political thinkers in America at this period.

Page 479, line 14. The "leveling" was the greatest theme of colonial conversation, a source of surprise to all travelers, of satisfaction to most, of dismay to a few. It was the most conspicuous fact of American life.

Page 494. The *lettre de cachet* was a device by which, for a financial consideration, a blank warrant of arrest could be secured. The resulting imprisonment might last for life. The warrant was used with terrible effect upon the peace of French society.

Page 500, line 18. A more literal translation of the Greek text would be, "Woe to the orderly world from scandals; for it is fate that scandals [stumbling-blocks] come,—however, woe to the man on account of whom the scandal comes." Despite all his great services to England, the memory of Walpole is a source rather of regret than of satisfaction.

INDEX

A

- Abercrombie, James, 270
 Abolition of Parliaments, 500
 Abolition of slavery, 494
 Abrogation of Massachusetts charter, 200
 Absence from church, 490
 Acadia, 249
 Acadia boundary, 230
 Acadia, English, 255
 Acadia, expedition against, 236
 Acadia, French, 255
 Acadia, superstitions in, 249
 Acadian papists, 213
 Acadians deported, 260
 Acadians, the, 259
 Acclimatization, 6
 Acclimatization, Negro, 14
 Acts of trade denied, 411
 Actual money uses, 430
 Adams, John, 173, 190, 202, 203
 Adams, Samuel, 181, 194, 195, 223
 Advance of industry, 432
 Advanced iron manufacture, 332, 334
 Advertising, 379
 African peoples, 18
 African polygamy, 19
 African setback, 14
 Aggrieved Americans, 222
 Agitation in Virginia, 215
 Agricultural experiment, 32
 Agriculture, 298; conquest, 300; experiment, 298; French offer, 301; of Dutch, 507; perspective, 320; predominant, 290; wasteful, 319
 Aix-la-Chapelle, peace of, 248, 249, 499
 Alabama, 128
 Alamance, 192
 Alamo mission, 124, 138
 Alarum bell, 435
 Albany Congress, 98, 169
 Albuquerque, 139
 Algonkins know Pontiac, 281
 Alliance, Six Nations, 95
 Alliance, the Grand, 498
 Almanac tax, 375
 America, prostrate, 216; self-government, 64; separate, 182; taxable, 168; 18th-century, 63
 American, century, 497; character, 36; description of, 473; emotions, 173; fate, 270; forest-warfare, 269; hatred, 181; imports, 148; individuality, 465; liberty, 172; loyalty, 222; notions, 164; Philosophical Society, 492; principle, 480; provincialism, 465; revolt, 176; Revolution, Penman of, 473; steel, 338; surplus, 300; temper, 198; the, a new man, 474; the, description of, 473; Whigs, 223; writers, 466
 Americanism, 158; intense, 211
 Americans, 168, 366; aggrieved, 222; colonial, 488; peace lovers, 223
 Amherst, Jeffery, General, 268, 274
 Anarchists, 157
 Anarchy and tyranny, 162
 Ancestry, pride in, 477
 Anchors cast, 338
 Anglo-Saxons, 39; characteristics, 53
 Animated Americans, 202
 Annapolis, 70
 Anne, 13, 505
 Annihilation of people, 275
Annual Register, 210
 Antiques, colonial, 478
 Anvil, fireside, 289

Appalachian country, 73; landscapes, 280; migration, 192; plateau, 41; traders, 250
 Arbitrariness of England, 179
 Aristocracies, 252
 Aristocracy, New York, 210
 Aristocracy, Virginia, 215
 Aristocrats, 99
 Armada, French, mythical, 248
 Arminians, 451
 Art, 475
 Art, colonial, 475
 Artificial humanity, 252
 "Artist of damnation," 476
 Association against England, 203
 Athenæum Library, 493
 Attainment, 20th-century, 379
 Attitude, English, 323
 Augusta, 31
 Austrian Succession, war of, 241, 242, 499
 Authors, American, 466; of school books, 463
Autobiography, Franklin, 472
 Awakening, colonial, 201; the "Great, 446, 449, 469

B

Bacon, bear, 301
 Bakeries, 397
 Balance of trade, 295
 Baltimore flour, 307, 389
 Baltimore, Lord, 70, 213
 Banking Company, 434, 438
 Bankruptcy, legal, 74
 Banks, 433
 Baptists, 451
 Barbarians, vigorous, 98
 Bargain-hunters, 402
 Bar-iron, export, 333, 339; tests, 329
 Barley, 318, 398
 Barré, Isaac, 190
 Barter, 399, 422, 423, 441
 Baton Rouge begun, 130
 Bayberry-wax, 312, 395, 397
Bay State Psalm Book, 378
 Bear bacon, 301
 Beautiful literature, 469
 Beaver grounds, Iroquois, 412
 Beccaria, 156, 157
 Beef export, 300
 Beer, home-made, 394
 Beer, Philadelphia to Georgia, 412
 Beginnings of Kentucky, 44
 Behemoth, literary, 468
 Belcher, Jonathan, 93, 118
Belief and Acts of Religion, 492
 Belief, English, 325
 Bellomont, Earl of, 94, 108, 110
 Bell-cart, Boston, 376
 Bell foundry, 398
 Bernard, Francis, 93, 207, 221
 Bible, German, 381, 493
 Bible, price of, 381
 Bibles, printing of, 382
 Bigot, Pierre François, 278
 Bigoted clergy, 252
 Billeting troops, 201
 Bills of credit, 111
 Biloxi pay, 122
 Birth-rate, 5, 103, 136; Negro, 206
 Blackbeard, 67
 Black Watch, 270
 Blank books, 382
 Blasphemy fined, 437
 Blazed pathways, 417
 Bleachery, 371
 "Bloody backs," 189
 Blotting sand, 463
 Blue-grass country, 44
 Blue Ridge route, 418
 Board of trade, 164
 Bolting mills, 397
 Bond-servants, 97, 487
 Book auction, 492
 Bookbinding, 382
 Boone, Daniel, 39, 43, 44
 Boonesboro, 45
 Boone's Creek, 43
 Border people, 121
 Border warfare, 230, 262
 Borussi, Lithuanian, 501
 Boscawen, Admiral, 268
 Boston, aid, 409; bell-cart, 376; contributions for, 201, 209; expenses, 438; express, 418; *Gazette*, 380; gentry, 419; governed, 63; Latin school, 463; liberty, 208; Massacre, 173, 190, 494; *News Letter*, 376, 492; Port Bill, 163, 200, 209, 409; relief of, 218; stages, 421; streets lighted, 495; Tea Party, 173, 199, 414
 Bottles, 398
 Boucher, Jonathan, 459
 Boundaries effaced, 218
 Boundary, extension, Canada, 201; lines, 103, 104; R. I. and Conn., 122; N. C. and S. C., 75; S. C., 224
 Bounties, 293, 316; labor, 219; for "raw materials," 360; for sail-cloth, 366

Bounty, duck weaving, 364; on paper, 376
 Bouquet, Henry, 271
 Bourbon, House of, 498, 508
 Bowditch, Nathaniel, 347
 Bowed cotton, 369
 Braddock, Edward, 89, 93, 256; campaign, 257; mistake, 258
 Bradstreet, John, 264
 Brant, Joseph, 47
 Bray, Dr. Thomas, 459
 Brevier type, 385
 Brew-houses, 397
 Bribery, 55, 58, 123, 165, 168, 193, 436; Walpole, 506
 Brick, 392
 Bridges, 417
 British, enthusiasm, 268; interference, 178; Ministry, 173; Parliament, 154; politics, 173; troops quartered, 189
 Brotherhood, gospel of, 464
 "Brother Jonathan," 209
 Brown University, 492
 Brutality, 122
 Buckskin clothing, 392
 Buffalo robes, 301
 Building communities, 112
 Building stone, 393
 Bull, William, 29, 219
 "Bundling," 455
 Burgesses, 55, 92; allowance, 436; denounced, 216; house of, 52; resolutions, 184
 Burke, Edmund, 196, 199, 210
 Burlamaqui, 157
 Burnet, William, 95, 118
 Burning of the *Gaspée*, 199
 Burrington, George, 76
 Business criminality, 26
 Bute, Earl of, 180
 Buttons, 362, 395, 398
 Byrd, William, 75, 466, 474

C

Cabinet, English, 155
 Cadet, exile of, 278
 Cadillac, 130
 Calvert, Frederick, 70
 Calvinism, 449, 469
 Calvinistic Methodism, 447
 Calvinists, 451
 Cambridge Grammar School, 463
 Canadian corruption, 267
 Canadian expansion, 201
 Canadians emigrate to France, 280

Candles, 395, 396
 Cannibals, Indians, 265
 Capacity of saw-mills, 388
 Capital punishment, 487
 Captain Kidd, 400
 Captured women, 231
 Cargoes, European and West Indian, 402
 Cargoes, fishing craft, 410
 Carolinas, life in, 291; products, 311; provisions, 495
 Carriages, 395, 398, 419
 Carriage tax, 371
 Carroll, Charles, 69
 Carroll, Daniel, 69
 Cartagena, 239
 Carteret, 28
 Casco treaty, 229
 Caste and class, 156
 Castes, two, 479
 Cast-iron tea-kettle, 338
 Catharine II., 505
 Catholic Church, 501
 Catholics disfranchised, 490
 Cattle, 319; Americanized, 298
 Célon, leaden plate of, 253
 Centres of population, 486
 Century of warfare, 227
 Cereals acclimated, 298
 Chairs, sedan, Louis-Quinze, 478
 Chaisses, 419
 Chamber of Commerce, N. Y., 440
 Champions of liberty, N. Y., 210
 Chaplain of Colonial Congress, 491
 Character, colonial, 488
 Characteristics of pioneers, 47
 Charitable schools, 368
 Charlemagne, empire of, 126
 Charles II., 13
 Charles III., 508
 Charles V., 12
 Charles XII., 505
 Charleston burned, 79
 Charleston fire of 1740, 439
 Charleston's latitude, 80
 Charlevoix, the Jesuit, 290
 Charter colonies, 49
 "Charter of privileges," 83
 Charter-government, 58
 Charters, Crown, 165
 Chasm, bridging the, 399
 Chastity, Negro, 17
 Cheap foreign goods, 360
 Cheever, Dr. Ezekiel, 463
 Chief events, French and Indian War, 257
 Chihuahua commandant, 138
 China, 395, 398

- Chinese and silk, 315
 Chocolate mill, 398
 Christian bondage, 20
Christian Philosopher, 492
 Christ unremembered, 26
 Church bells, 395
 Church, Benjamin, 234
 Church, independent, 466; of England, 72; organs, 398
 Cider, 320, 394
 Circular letter, colonial, 223
 Cities, 53; not in Parliament, 167
 City, development, 304; library, 492
 Civilization, 372, 443; gains, 483; measure of, 483; of Western Europe, 504; perspective, 444
 Clapboards, 388
 Class and caste, 156
 Classes, reduction of, 479; wealthy, 480
 Clergy, bigoted, 252; power of, 508; Virginia, 454
 Climate and whites, 10
 Climatic effects, 32
 Clinton, George, 98
 Clive, Robert, 500
 Clocks used, 494
 Closing iron-mills, 333
 Cloth, for home use, 364; supply, 358; weaving, 441
 Clothing, buckskin, 392; progress, 362
 Clover, 299, 318
 Coaches, 419
 Coach hire, 438
 Coal, 330; in forge use, 338; mining, 396, 398
 Coasting trade, 86
 Coastwise trade laws, 410
 Coastwise traffic, 409
 Cobbler's bench, 289
 Coinage of Granby coppers, 438
 College requirements, 460
 Colonial, age, 478; Americans, 488; antiques, 478; art, 475; awakening, 201; character, 488; characteristics, 101; circular letter, 223; colleges, 121; constitution, 171; conversations, 488; contemporaries, *frontispiece*; dames, 304; democracy, 221; development, 164; diplomacy, 488; fighters, 261; frontier, 479; generations, 37, 127; governments, 49; grievances, 221; houses, 477; inheritance, 123; intercourse, 411; iron export, 334, 339; irritation, 404; journalists, 183; joy over Montreal, 278; landlords, 481; manufacture, 322; merchants, 480; national, 472; officers, 163; passions, 287; patriot, 153; planter, 481; plays, 475; poetry, 475; populations, 22; provincialisms, 476; representation, 172; rhymesters, 466; roominess, 478; society, 477; soldiers, 15,000 to 20,000, 269; speech, 488; trade with England, 409; transformation, 126; union, 96, 169, 183; views on manufacture, 326; views on trade, 326; writers, 466, 467
 Colonies, comparison of, 7; infants, 427; of King or Parliament?, 150; size of, 71
 Colonization, secondary, 10
 Colony and Crown, 99
 Columbia College, 492, 493
 Combs, 395, 398
 Comfortable life, Delaware, 90
 Commerce, mainspring of, 401
 Commerce, taxation of, 403
 Commercial, independence, 412; policy, France, 147; Rhode Island, 107; self-interest, 142; spirit, 94, 402
 Committee of Correspondence, 173, 194, 211, 217
 "Common defence," 83
 Commons, a fiction, 154; power of, 181
 Commotions, popular, 509
 Communism, Georgia, 32
 Company of the West, 437, 438
 Comparison of colonies, 7
 Composite ideas, 99
 Conceptions of God, 450
 Conciliation, 199
 Condemnation, Connecticut, 209
 Conflagration, smoke and flame, 497
 Conflict, industrial, 322
 "Congested populations," 37
 Congregationalism, 450
 Congress, provincial, 204
 Connecticut capitals, 106; condemnation, 209; controlled by clergy, 106; generous, 105; Government of, 58; losses, 103
 Conquest of the West, 44
Conscious Lovers played, 494

- Consociations, 450
 Conspiracy of Pontiac, 280
 Conspiracy, venal, 167
 Constable and sheriff, 60
 Constitution, adopted, 296; colonial, 171; English, 155; spirit of, 180
 Continental Congress, 173, 202
 Contrasts, colonial, 81
 Contributions for Boston, 201, 495
 Convention, Albany, 169; at Faneuil Hall, 224; Indian, 271
 Conversation, colonial, 488
 Conversions, slow, 480
 Copley, John Singleton, 475, 494
 Copper, 339, 441
 Corn, 304, 440
 Cornerstone, Pennsylvania, 82
 Corlett, Elijah, 463
 Cornstalk, 46
 Correspondence, Committee of, 194, 211, 217
 Corrupt bargain, Massachusetts, 95
 Corruption, Canadian, 267; flagrant, 506; in New France, 273; official, 456; public, New York, 94; Spanish, 508
 Cosby, William, 92, 96, 484
 Cosmopolitanism, 82, 85, 91, 99, 152
 Cosmopolitan North Carolina, 73
 Cost of iron product, 330
 Cotton, 314; and wool-cards, 371; "bowed," 369; export, 314; gins, 369; manufacture, 369
 Councilors, mandamus, 200, 208
 Counsellors, independent, 51
 Counterfeit halfpence, 439
 Country folk, genuine, 39; rural, 486
 County court, 53
 County, the, 52
 Court of chancery, 122
 Covenant, the halfway, 448
 Cranston, Governor, 108
 Credit association, 434
 Credit of final success, 271
 Crest of the Continent, 43
 Crèvecoeur, Jean Hector, 466, 473
 Crime, penalty for, 487
 Criminal trials, 278
 Crop rotation, 299
 Crops, surplus, 298
 Crowded out, 47
 Crown, and Colony, 99; charters, 165; officers, 163; patents, 165; powers of, 166; resisted, 166; veto, 115
 Crown Point, 261, 277
 Currency demand, 426
 Customs duties, 437, 439
- D
- Dahomey Negroes, 12
 D'Alembert, Jean, 500
 Dames, colonial, 304
 "Damnation, artist of," 476
 Dante of the New World, 468
 Darien, 30
 "Dark and bloody ground," 39
 Dawson, John, 72
 Deadlock, New York, 98
 Death, excess is, 379
 Death-rate, 5, 15
 De Beaujeu, Chevalier, 258
 De Bienville, Céloron, 253
 De Bienville, Le Moyne, 128, 130, 131, 138
 Debt clearance, 74
 Debt, land for, 56
 Debt, national, France, 500
 Debtors prison, 27, 436
 Declaration of Rights, 187, 198
 Declaratory Act, 216
 De Drucour, Chevalier, 268
 Deeds recorded, 56
 Deerfield, 231
 Deerfield women, 233
 Deerskins dressed by whites, 392
 Deerskins, export of, 392
 Deichert, Jacob, 395
 De Lancey, James, 98, 99, 485
 Delaware, emancipation, 212; farmers, 91; separate, 83; struggle, 212; towns, growth, 90
 Delawares, 88, 124
 Deliverance of Georgia, 241
 Deluge, 499
 Demand for currency, 426
 Demands of trade, 425
 Democracy, 55; American, 161; and communism, 162; and riches, 479; and socialism, 162; colonial, 221; constructive, 62; English, 181; tyranny of, 87; victory of, 485
 Democratic, and rich, 479; Europe, 156; liberty, 503
 Dependence, colonial, 145
 Depreciation, money, 427, 430
 Description of the American, 473
 Despotism, new, 501

- Details of money issues, 429
 Detroit, founded, 131; settled, 122; siege of, 132
 Development, city, 304; colonial, 164; not active, 425; satisfactory, 10
Diary, 468
 D'Iberville, 129
 Dickinson, John, 202, 466, 473
 Diderot, Denis, 500
 Dieskau, Baron, 256; campaign, 260
 Dinwiddie, Robert, 68, 254
 Diplomacy, colonial, 488
 Discontented colonists, 112, 215
 Discrimination, 144, 420
 Disintegration, 109
 Dismal Swamp, 474
 Disrespect of New York, 210
 Dissenters, 490; disfranchised, 72, 77, 122
 Distress for food, 267
 Distribution of land, 318
 Disunited England, 160
 Diversity of industries, 390
 Diversity of production, 395
 Divided Empire, 125
 Divided English, 160
 Divine love, ravishment of, 468
 Dobbs, Arthur, 76
 Doom of the red man, 280
 Drainage, 318
 Drawing the long bow, 221
 Drink, 393
 Driving wheels of progress, 401
 Duchambon, Chevalier, 246
 Duché, Jacob, 491
 Duck bounty, 364
 Dudley, Joseph, 95, 105, 110, 117, 229
 Dummer, Lieutenant, 117
 Dunkers, 490
 Dunmore, Lord, 217, 221
 "Dunquerque" of N. A., 243
 Duquesne, Fort, 254
 Durham boats, 421
 Dutch, agriculture, 507; century, 4; commerce, 141, 507; institutions, 151; looms, 371; of Pa., 76; Reformed, 451; sects, 452; trade, 405
 Dynastic wars, 509
- E
- Eagerness of Delaware, 212
 East India Company, 200
 Easy chairs, 367
 Economic emancipation, 433
 Eden, Sir Robert, 213; *First Books on America*, 315
 Edenton, 75
 Education, 457; and genius, 459; "New," 461; perspective, 491; self-, 458; zeal for, 462
 Edwards, Jonathan, 448, 466, 468
 Electors, English, 155
 Electricity, 398
 Elect, the, 449
 Elementary studies, 461
 Eligible list, 60
 Elizabeth incorporated, 93
 Emancipation, Delaware, 212; economic, 433; of trade, 422
 Embargo, political, 203
 Embury, Philip, 491
 Emotions, American, 173
 Employment, expansion of, 425; increasing, 292; right to, 288
 Emulation, Georgia, 33
 England, a greater, 202; arbitrary, 179; church of, 72; for Englishmen, 363; Georges in, 505; in contempt, 148; ruled by merchants, 142
 England's, fatal course, 222; need, 253
 English, Acadia, 255; action belated, 332; alarm, 384; attitude, 323; belief, 325; bureaucracy, 158; century, 47; colonies, 5; common law, 123; constituency, 167; credit poor, 437; debtors, 25; democracy, 181; experiment, 299; friendship, 403; generals, ability of, 270; hindrance, 299; industry, 465; institutions, 151; insularity, 465; iron import, 330; knowledge, 324; leniency, 148; marine, 140; office-holders, 220; philosophers, 157; prisons, 25; protection, 325, 326, 329; reports, 324, 374; revenue, 182; revolution, 163; satraps, 221; sea-power, 268; settlers, 152; sovereignty, 153; -Spanish War, 239; traders excluded, 254; trade interdiction, 203; trade plan, 148; trade regulation, 403; work, 245
 Englishmen, 30
 Enlightened despot, 503

- Enterprise, philanthropic, 27;
Virginia, 254
Enumerated articles, 146
Episcopacy, 452; sacraments, 448
Equality, 158; Negro, 207; of
men, 464
Erection of iron mills, 333
Essays to do Good, 472
Established Church, 216
Estates exempted, 89
Ethics, definition, 454
Europe, civilization of, 504
Europe, democratic, 156
European, cargoes, 402; civiliza-
tion, basest, 136; history, 496;
ideas, 155; results of French
and Indian War, 277; slave
factories, 13; tension, 251;
upper classes, 508
Evangelization of blacks, 19
Evasion of law, 149
Everhard, Richard, 76
Evil disposed persons, 490
Evolution, political, 161
Excess is death, 379
Excise Bill, 159
Excise tax, 439
Exile of Bigot and Cadet, 278
Expansion of, barter, 423; em-
ployment, 425; iron produc-
tion, 328; Puritans, 36
Expenditure, Boston, 438
Expenditures, British, 437
Experiment, agriculture, 298;
English, 299; Georgia, 302;
silk, 317
Export of, bar-iron, 333, 339;
colonial iron, 334, 339; logs,
412; pig-iron, 412
Export tax, tobacco, 213
Express, Boston, 418; New York
to Philadelphia, 418
Extortion, official, 440
- F
- Factional strife, New York, 94
Fairfax, George, 42
Fair Penitent played, 494
Families, large, 303; rich, 480
Family life, 6
Faneuil Hall, a market, 413;
burned, 439; convention, 224
Fans, 395, 398
Farm animals, 318
Farmers persecuted, 92
Fashionable life, 34
Fashions, London, 482
Fasting, day of, Virginia, 217
Fathers of new ideas, 74
Fauquier, Francis, 69
Federation of towns, 59
Fee simple in land, 34
Fees, school, 464
Fee tail, 56
Feke, Robert, 494
Felt-makers, 370
Ferdinand VI., 508
Ferries, 417
Feudalism, Maryland, 213
Feudal manors, 70
Fiat money, 75, 77, 105, 431
Fighting "puffs of smoke," 259
Fighting strength, 256
Figs, 312
Filatures, silk, 368
Finance, 422, 441; perspective,
436
Financial, data, 433; hazard, 434;
thumb, 426
Fingers, four good, 426
Firearms, 336
Fire engines, 395, 397
Fire-insurance, 454
Fireside anvil, 289
Fisheries, perspective, 357
Fishing, 290, 441; craft cargoes,
410; hamlets, 235
Fish markets, 401
Five Acts, 201
Flagrant corruption, 506
Flannels, 362
Flax, 310
Flaxseed, 310; export of, 412
Flocks and herds, 291
Florida, 127; agriculture, 302;
Spanish occupation, 127
Flour, Baltimore and Philadel-
phia, 307, 389; inspectors,
389; Philadelphia, 306, 307;
South Carolina exports as
from Baltimore or Philadel-
phia, 413
Food-supply, world, 298
Forbears break prison, 299
Forbes, John, 271
Forefathers, philosophers, 156
Foreign goods, cheap, 360
Fort Dummer, 117; Duquesne,
254, 258, 272; Frontenac
taken, 271; Le Boeuf, 69;
Naquitoches, 130; Necessity,
256; Niagara, 277; St. Louis,
128; Tombickbee, 128; Tou-
louse, 128
Foundries, 331

- Fountain of new life, 504
 Fox, Charles James, 210
 Fox, George, 88
 Frame of Government, 56, 83
 France, predicts union, 237; rotten, 267; story of, 497
 Franchise, 85
 Franklin, Benjamin, 86, 170, 174, 196, 258, 316, 350, 375, 383, 458, 461, 466, 471, 491, 509
 Franklin in England, 173
 Franklin, James, imprisoned, 492
 "Franklin" stoves, 335
 Franklin's velvet coat, 197
 Franklin, William, 211
 Fraud, 499
 Frederica, 30
 Frederick I., 502
 Frederick II., "the Great," 499, 509
 Frederick College, 492
 Frederick William, 502
 Free bar-iron in England, 332
 Freedom, 97, 482; industrial, 435; of the press, 378, 379, 485; passion for, 291; seed-sowing, 289; terms of, 482; to think, 466
 Freedoms, twentieth century, 482
 Freemasons, 494
 Free Negroes, 24
 Free speech, 485
 Free thinkers, 501
 Free thought, 503
 Free trade, empire, 141, 142
 Free trade, Louisiana and West Indies, 124
 French and Indian War, 99, 227, 249, 255
 French, Acadia, 255; advantage, 265; allies decamp, 266; Armada, myth, 248; century, 4; corruption, 273; criminal trials, 278; domain, 3; exclusion of trade, 254; expeditions to Louisbourg, 247; flag lure, 247; incompetence, 245; invasion, 167; military possession, 40; national debt, 500; need, 253; offer, agriculture, 301; organization, 230; outposts, 250; population, 3; priests, 251; straits, 272; supplies stolen, 264; trade, 405; wives, 301
 Friendship, English, 403
 Friends' Meeting, 490
 Frontier, colonial, 479; ended, 102; pickets, 78
 Fugitives starving, 267
 Fuller's earth, 361
 Fulling-mills, 359
 Funerals, 295
 Fur trade, 130, 320
 G
 Gadsen, Christopher, 435
 Gage, General Thomas, 207
 Gains of civilization, 483
 Galloway, Joseph, 202
 Gambling-clubs, English, 454
 Game, 37
 Garden stuff, 321
Gaspée, burning of, 199
 Gay, Ebenezer, 450
 General morality, 456
 General welfare, 456
 Genius and education, 459
 George I., 505
 George II., 28, 248, 273, 506
 George III., 64, 86, 166, 180, 181, 222, 506
 Georges in England, 505
 Georgia, 25, 50; boundary extended, 240; experiment, 302; failures, 31; outside control, 32; patriots, 220; prosperity, 302
 German, Bible, 381, 493; coast, 135; Lutherans, 30; paper, a, 493; scientific inquiry, 503; sects, 452
 Gibbon, Edward, 509
 Girls in school, 462
 Gist, Christopher, 42, 69, 131
 Glass, 394, 398
 Glue, 395, 398
 God, conceptions of, 450
 Godfrey, Thomas, 350
 Gold coin opposition, 439
 Golden Hill, 191
 "Golden Horseshoe," 67
 Gold mines, 28
 Gooch, William, 67
 "Good old times," 16
 Gookin, Charles, 85
 Goose-quill pens, 463
 Gordon, Patrick, 86
 Gospel of brotherhood, 464
 Government, a business, 167; a conspiracy, 157; by consent, 156; for sale, 168; local, 487; Pennsylvania, 8
 Governor ejected, 438
 Governor's veto, 115
 Grain, middle colonies, 306; south, 306; surplus, 305

Grammar schools, 462, 463
 Granby coppers coined, 438
 Grand Alliance, 498
 Grants, perpetual, 219
 Great, Awakening, 446, 449, 469;
 landlords, 481; St. Simon, 30
 Greater England, 202
 Greed, 15
 Greek Catholic Church, 501
 Greenbacks, 434
 Grenville, George, 180
 Gridley, Colonel, 246
 Grievances, colonial, 221
 Grist-mills, 389
 Grotius, Hugo, 157
 Guelphs, 505
 Guilds, religious, 453
 Guilt of slave-traders, 14
 Guns, 395

H

Halfway covenant, 448
 Halifax, Lord, 165
 Hamilton, Andrew, 484
 Hamilton, George, 66
 Hamilton, James, 88
 Hamilton library, 84
 Hampshire grants, 210
 Handicap of production, 424
 Hand-mills, 389
 Hangings of rich cloth, 377
 Hapsburg, House of, 498, 501, 507
 Harness-makers, 391
 Hart, John, 69
 Harvard, and potatoes, 315; Col-
 lege, 121; commencement
 suits, 366; library, 492; lot-
 tery, 440; theses, 320
 Hatred, American, 181
 Hats made in New England, 364
 Haverhill, 234
 Hawkes, Sir Edward, 268
 Health, 6
 Height of land, 255
 Heights of Abraham, 276
 Heirs, daughters' share, 438
 Hemingway, Jacob, 491
 Hemp, 310, 311
 Henry, Patrick, 173, 177, 184, 186,
 202, 215, 218, 223, 435, 493
 Henry resolutions, 435
 Heralds of liberty, 289
 Hereditary, nobility, 122; unrest,
 37
 Higher education, 482
 Higher life, 458

Highlanders, 30, 76
 Hillhouse, William, 60
 Hill, "Jack," 238
 Hill-Negroes, 19
 Hindrance by England, 299
 Hirelings, 195
*History, of Massachusetts, 473; of
 Redemption, 494; of Virginia,*
 492
 History, truth, ever-living, 252
 Hohenzollern, House of, 502, 503
 Holderness, Lord, 98
 Holland, 141, 142, 507
 Holland's fate, 5
 Hollow iron ware, 328
 Home-made beer, 394
 Home, market, 299; products,
 iron, 332
 Homespun, fashionable, 494;
 jackets, 371
 Hominy, 389
 Hooker, Richard, 157
 Hopkins, Governor, 208
 Hops, 318, 412
 Hornbook, 478
 Horse-shoe, 321
 Horse-path, Ga., 421
 Horses, 298, 319
 Hospital opened, 494
 Hostile Acadians, 260
 Hotbeds, 321
 Houghton, Rowland, 395
 House is castle, 176
 House painting, 376
 Housewife, 304
 Housewives' pride, 376
 Howe, Lord Augustus, 269
 Howe, Colonel William, 276
 Hudson River Tea Party, 224
 Huguenots, 451
 Humanitarianism, 488
 Humanity, artificial, 252
 Human nature, 489
 Hume, David, 509
 "Hundreds," 53
 Hunter, Robert, 95
 Hutchinson's removal, 197
 Hutchinson, Thomas, 175, 202,
 207, 466, 473

I

Ideas, European, 155
 Ignorance, peril of, 459
 "Illinois Country," 301, 312
 Illiteracy, 74, 462
 Illusion, 457
 Immigration, 487

- Immortals, literary, 466
 Import, American, 148; from England, 404, 408; Negro, 292; of wine and rum, 412
 Importation unnecessary, 295
 Impressment, 410
 Improved Order of Red Men, 495
 Improved stock, 300
 Improvement in shoes, 391
 Improvised soldiers, 235
 Incompetence, French, 245
 Independence, 177; commercial, 412; industrial, 288
 Independent, church, 466; counsellors, 51; governors, 193
 Indian, annihilation, depredations, Pennsylvania, 90, 122; cannibals, 265; convention, 271; pupils, 492; raids, New Jersey, 93; reservations, 228; scalp, 122, 438, 439; taste, 266; treachery, 267; £1000 to kill, 234
 Indians, Creeks, 29; for peace, 229; in need of women, 231; missions among, 452; South Carolina, 78
 Indifferent English, 160
 Indigo, 34, 79, 291, 312, 313; and rice, 440; export, 313; profits, 313
 Individuality, American, 464
 Industrial, activity, 135; attainment, 296; battles, 297; chain, 441; conditions, 1774, 440; conflict, 322; development, 227; freedom, 435; independence, 288, 295, 322; prosperity, 428; societies, 367; society, 294; sovereignty, 324
 Industries, diversity of, 390
 Industry, 287; advances, 432; and thrift, 182; English, 465; lamps of, 375; paramount, 289; perspective, 286, 297
 Inefficient officers, 222
 Inertia of Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, 213
 Ink, printers', 382
 Inoculation, 494
 Inquisition, 5, 14
 Inspiration, cultural, 504
 Inspired madman, 435
 Instability, racial, 38
 Instruction, Negro, 21
 Insularity, English, 465
 Insurance, marine, begun, 438
 Insurrection, Negro, 78
 "Intellectual wild men," 46
 Intense Americanism, 211
 Intercolonial wars, 228
 Intercommunication, 488
 Intercourse, colonial, 411
 Interdiction, English, 203
 Interest reduced, Mass., 440
 Interference, British, 178
 Intermixture, race, 17
 Internal taxes, 174
 Invalids, 6
 Invasion of Kentucky region, 131
 Invention, 395
 Inverness, Georgia, founded, 124
 Investment in slaves, 482
 Irish Presbyterians, 490
 Iroquois, 89, 98, 170; country, 250; friendly, 250
 Iron, 328, 441; and velvet, 496; export, colonial, 334, 339; export, Virginia and Maryland, 331; import by England, 330; mill erection, 333; mines, new, 334; mining in Michigan, 338; moulds, sand, 331; perspective, 337; pots, 328; products, Pennsylvania, 331; refineries, 337
 Ironware, hollow, 328; New England, 331
 Irritation, colonial, 404
 Isolation, primitive, 509
 Italians, 30
 Itinerant, teachers, 460; weavers, 371
- J
- Jackets, homespun, 371
 "Jamb stoves," 335
 James Otis, work of, 173
 James II., 13
 Jay, John, 202, 211
 Jealousy, pioneer, 38
 Jeopardy, Rhode Island, 104
 Jerseys, the, 91
 Jerseys, 1697-1760, 92
 Jesuit College, 123, 132
 Jesuits, expelled, 508; suppression of, 500
 Jewish, accretions, 97; characteristics, 97
 Jews, 30, 97
 Johnson, Nathaniel, 77
 Johnson, William, 39, 46, 99, 260, 264
 Johnston, Gabriel, 76
 Joseph's Town, 30

Journalists, colonial, 183

K

Kant, Immanuel, 503
Kaskaskia, 131, 134
Keith, William, 85
Kentucky, beginnings of, 44
Kerseys, 362
Kidd, William, 117
Kidnapping Indians, 77
King and Cabinet, 161
King and tyrant, 178
Kingdom organized, 502
King George's War, 227, 242
King George III., 160
King Louis asleep, 281
King's College, 98, 492
King's party, 181
Kings, sanctity of, 509
King, the trade of, 497
King William's War, 227
Knotty problem, 16

L

La Bahia founded, 123
Labor, bounties, 219; high-priced, 379; Negro, 293; price of, 364, 412; production, 424; protection, 296; white, 9
Lake Pepin, 133
Lamps of industry, 375
Land, distribution, 318; for debt, 56; free or cheap, 5; grabbers, 89; grants, 389; grants vacated, 123; in fee simple, 37; offers, 223, 300; of the sky, 44; of the western waters, 36, 39, 40; ownership, Georgia, 124; revenues, 325; routes, 417; title, 301
Land-bank paper money, 439
Landlords, 11; colonial, 481; great, 481
Latin school, 463
Law, and prosperity, 9; evasion of, 149; of Chester, 56
Law, John, 129, 500
Laws, coastwise trade, 410; of God, 182; slavery, 20
Lawyers, 304
Leading pioneers, 39
Lead mines, 132, 441
Learning run mad, 467
Leather, 390; advertised in Philadelphia, 413; doublets, 371

Le Blanc, 249
Led by a thread, 198
Lee, Richard Henry, 202
Legislation, exclusive colonial, 203; suspended, 189
Legislature dreaded, 166
Legislatures, colonial, 50
Leisler, Jacob, 94, 96
Leniency, English, 148
Leonard, Daniel, 173
Lethargy, lower-class, 509
Leveling, of social grades, 479; principles, 79; social, 479
Liability of stock company, 439
Libels, seditious, 484
Liberal college, 121
Liberty, American, 172; Boston, 208; democratic, 503; heralds of, 289; pole, 191; property, and life, 188; Song, 493; through law, 62; Tree, 491
Library of Philadelphia, 86
Life, and property, 195; in Carolinas, 291; in middle colonies, 290; in southern colonies, 291; liberty, and property, 188; not sacred, 487
Lighthouses, 419, 421
Lime, 393
Linen and Scotch-Irish, 365
Linen factory, 371
Linsey-woolsey, 310, 362, 371
Liquor and iron, 331
Liquor trade, Ga., 33
Literary, behemoth, 468; immortals, 466
Literature, 465, 492; beautiful, 469; perspective, 492; scurrilous, 383
Lithuanian Borussi, 501
Little colonies, 104
Little commonwealths, 209
Livingston, Philip, 202
Livingston, William, 459
"Lobsters" (Red-coats), 189
Local Government, 487
Locke, John, 157
Logan, 46
Logan, James, 84
Log college, 464, 490
Logician, terrific, 469
Logs, export of, 412
London fashions, 482
London illuminated, 223
Long bow, drawing the, 221
Looms, 358, 371
Lords of Trade, 51, 54
Lotteries, 491, 492

Lottery, 338, 454; Boston, No. 7, 439; bridge-building, 421; Harvard College, 440; New England, 439
 Loudon, Earl of, 172
 Louisbourg, capitulates, 269; exchanged, 248; expedition, 88, 247; expenditures, 247; fortress, 242, 244, 496; garrison, 268; "luck," 245; pestilence, 247; siege of, 172, 245, 268; surrender, 246
 Louisiana, 130; agriculture, 301; French impress, 126
 Louisville, 45
 Louis XIV., 238, 242, 497, 500
 Louis XV., 248, 498
 Love of work, 292
 Loyalists, 159, 212, 218
 Loyalty, American, 222
 Lugubrious decade, 230
 Lumber, 320
 Lumbering, 290
 Lumber shipment, 412, 413
 Lutherans, 491
 Luxurious magnificence, 498
 Luxury, 401, 435; and poverty, 497; delight in, 500; southern, 311
 Luzon, 126

M

Macdonald, Flora, 76
 Mackinaw Mission, 490
 Magna Carta, 151
Magnalia Christi Americana, 467
 Magnificence, luxurious, 498
 Maine, migration, 224; region, 109
 Mainspring of commerce, 401
 Maintaining a state, 119
 Malaria, 75
 Manchester velvet, Franklin's, 197
 Mandamus councilors, 200, 208
 Mankind, regeneration of, 456
 "Man of the town-meeting," 194
 Manors, feudal, 70
 Manufactories, early, 368
 Manufacture, cloth, 90; colonial, 322; progress, 322
 Manufactures, minor, 386; perspective, 397
 Manumission, 20, 206
 Maps:
 Acadia, 249
 Acadias, the, 255
 Africa, 18

Appalachians, 250
 Barbados and Smyrna, 358
 Benin, Gulf of, 12
 Blanco, Cape, 17
 Blue Grass Country, 44
 Boone's Creek, 43
 Braddock's battle, 257
 Brattleboro,
 British Colonies, 253
 Canada,
 Cape Breton I., 243
 Cartagena, 239
 Chief seaports, 100
 Chihuahua, 138
 Colonies, 22 (*tail-piece*)
 Connecticut, 103
 Crown Point, 236
 Deerfield, 232
 Delaware, 90
 Detroit, 131
 Egg Island, 237
 European settlements, 125
 Fairfax survey, 42
 First printing-presses, 380
 Fredrica, 30, 241
 French forts, 262
 Ft. Duquesne, 256
 Ft. Frontenac, 271
 Georgia, 90
 Haverhill, 234
 Illicit trade ports, 405
 Iroquois country, 251, 255
 Johnson's camp, 47
 Kentucky River, 131
 Lake George, 264
 Lake Pepin, 133
 Line of border warfare, 248
 Logstown, 69
 Louisbourg, 244
 Louisville, 45
 Madras, 248
 Maryland, 70
 Massachusetts, 114
 "Minisink country," 88
 Mississippi Valley, 129
 New Hampshire, 109
 New Jersey, 91
 Newport, 107, 396
 New York, 94
 Norridgewock, 118
 North Carolina, 72
 30° North, 79
 Ocracoke, 76
 Pacific region, 139
 Pennsbury Manor, 84
 Pennsylvania, 83
 Plassey (Plassi), 272
 Port Royal, 29, 235

- Maps—*Continued.*
 Quebec, 274
 Rhode Island, 108
 Route of Vérendrye, 134
 Royal Dynasties, 251
 Scotch-Irish, 38
 South Carolina, 77
 Southwest, the, 136
 St. Augustine, 127
 St. Louis, 134
 Ticonderoga, 261
 Treaty of Stanwix, 40
 Virginia, 66
 Wells and Casco, 229
 March, John, 235
 Maria Theresa, 498, 502
 Marine insurance, 438, 439
 Marine supremacy, 140
 Market, days in New Hampshire,
 412; home, 299; limited, 425;
 town, none in Virginia, 412
 Markets for fish, 401
 Markham, 83
 Marlborough, Duke of, 498, 507
 Marriageable young women, 130
 Marriage, Negro, 16; sanctity of,
 494; tie absent, 135
 Martin, Josiah, 218
 Maryland, 69; discontent, 215;
 feudalism, 213; growth in
 slaves, 24; radical, 214; re-
 sistance, 214
 Mason and Dixon boundary, 124
 Mason, John, 52
 Massachusetts, 49, 114; annals,
 119; characteristics of, 114;
 charter, 114, 116, 200;
 church membership, 120; co-
 lonial conditions, 116; govern-
 ment of, 57; growth of, 23;
 leadership, 118; prosperity,
 207; resistance, 207; trans-
 formation, 119
Massachusetts Spy, The, 493
 Massacre, Boston, 190
 Mast pines, 387
 Mather, Cotton, 230, 453, 463,
 466, 467
 Mather, Increase, 120, 121, 453
 McDougal imprisoned, 494
 Measure of civilization, 483
 Mechanics and rice, 312
 Medical profession, 460
 Medical school, 492
 Medium of exchange, 294, 424,
 428, 432
 Men, as equals, 464; of energy,
 510; of thought, 510
 VOL. II.—34.
Merchant of Venice played, 494
 Merchants, 480; and rice, 312;
 colonial, 480; enrichment of,
 145
 Messengers, colonial thought, 411
 Metals, minor, perspective, 342
 Metheglin, 394
 Methodism, 445, 446
 Michigan iron mining, 338
 "Midas touch," the, 471
 Middle colonies, 81
 "Middle Passage," 14
 Migration, Appalachian, 192;
 Maine, 224; west, 11, 36
 Military pay, 264
 Military wagon-road, 258
 Militia organized, 224
 Minisink, 88
 Minnesota, 133
 Minor metals, 339
 Minute-men, 224
 Misconception, historical, 164
 Missing link, 425
 Missionary Whitefield, 446
 Missions, among Indians, 452; and
 slave trade, 12
 Mission settlements, 137
 Mississippi, 129; Bubble, 130, 438
 Mixed races, 234
 Mobile settled, 122
 Moderates, New York, 210
Modern Chivalry, 493
 Mohawk children in school, 492
 Mohawk Valley, 46
 Molasses, 396; Act, 146, 147, 404;
 rum, and slaves, 23
 Monarch, the Grand, 497
 Monarchy, and individualism,
 162; universal, 170; *versus*
 Republic, 161
 Money, fiat, 75, 77; issue, details
 of, 429; issue stopped, 430;
 uses, 430
 Money-lenders, 183
 Monogamy, Negro, 17
 Monopoly, paper, 373
 Monopoly, sail-cloth, 370
 Monotony, 92
 Montcalm, General, 270, 272; and
 Indians, 265; death of, 277
 Montesquieu, 157, 445, 509
 Montgomerie, Richard, 96
 Montgomery, Sir Robert, 28
 Montreal, surrender of, 278
 Morality, and religion, 445; gen-
 eral, 456
 Morals, 458; absent, 135; per-
 spective, 490

Moral standards, 453
 Moravians, 30, 76
 Morocco leather, 398
 Morris, Governor, 262
 Mortgages recorded, 56, 439
Mother Goose, 492
 Motives, Deerfield raid, 233; of war, 234
 Moultrie, John, 128
 Mountain, passes, 41; products, 309
 Mount Vernon, 68
 Mulattoes, 17
 Municipal trade, 412
 Muse, tenth, 470
 Music, instrumental, 491
 Musket-makers, 337
 Muskets, 336
 Mustard mill, 398
 Mysticism, 450

N

Nails, 328, 335
 Nanticoke Indians, 70
 Narratives, object of, 327
 Narrows, appropriation for, 436
 Nashville, trading post near, 131, 412
 Nassau Hall, 464
 National, cement, 126; colonial, 472; debt, French, 500; development, 65
 Nation begun, 64
 Native-born scamps, 475
 Naturalism, 450
 Natural law, 157
 Natural society, 157
 Navigation, Act, 1660-61, 143; 1663, 145; 1672, 146; 1696, 146
 Navigation Acts, 209; misunderstood, 140; purpose of, 141, 143
 Neglect, 190
 "Neglected period," 113
 Negro, acclimatization, 14; birth-rate, 206; chastity, 17; children, 19; conspiracy, 494; death-rate, 15; equality, 207; importation, 91, 206, 293; increase, 206; influence, 9; instruction, 21; insurrection, 78, 124, 494; labor, 79, 293; lackeys, 419; marriage, 16, 19; monogamy, 17; origin, 18; plot, 97; price of, 21; vitality, 15

Negroes, 8; and animals, prices of, 22; import duty on, 413
 Nervousness, 6
 New birth, 448
 Newcastle, Duke of, 273
 "New education," 461
New England Courant, 380, 492
 New Englanders vs. Frenchmen, 290
 New England, families, 303; frontier, 303; ironware, 331; pioneering, 231; prohibitions, 495
 New France, 125; fall of, 281; fate of, 252
 New Hampshire, region, 109; separate governor, 111; settlements, 111; struggles, 109, 208
 New Jersey, inertia, 213; loyalists, 212; parsimony, 93; patriots, 212
 New Lights, 464, 491
 New Orleans, 134; elegance, 135
 New people, a, 168
 Newport, industries, 396; trade, 107
News Letter, 117
 New Smyrna, 128
 New social mind, 469
 Newspaper partisans, 224
 Newspapers, 379
 New wood land, 321
 New World, deeds, 496; traditions, 119
 New Year date changed, 124
 New York, aristocracy, 210; champions of liberty, 210; City, new charter, 123; deadlock, 98; disappointing record, 93; disrespect, 210; independency, 96; Moderates, 210; patriots, 211; war expenses, 98
 Nicholson, Francis, 66, 78
 Nobilities, 252
 Nobility, hereditary, 122; title of, 156
 "No Man's Land," 44
 Non-consumption, 203, 294, 413
 Non-exportation, 203
 Non-import and non-export, 414
 Non-importation, 191, 203; Boston, 414; New York, 209; Pennsylvania, 212
 Non-intercourse, 408, 495
 Nonpareil, 385
 Non-resident tax, 419

Non-resistance, Quaker, 262
 Normal *versus* war forces, 230
 North America, great valleys, 253
 North Carolina, 72; loyalists, 218;
 overflow of, 112; Quakers,
 218; reputation of, 73; su-
 perior, 74
 Northern Colonies, 100
 North, Frederic, 180
 "Not Wanted," 120

O

Oats, 318, 440
 Object of narratives, 327
 Occupations, 110
 Ocum, Samson, 492
 Office-holders, English, 220
 Officers, foreign trial, 201; in-
 efficient, 222
 Office-thieves, 220
 Official, corruption, 456; extor-
 tion, 440; moneys, 433; pi-
 rates, 222; thieves, 272
 Oglethorpe, James Edward, 26,
 29, 30, 31, 32, 316; extends
 boundary, 240
 Oglethorpe's dash and skill, 240
 Ohio, 132; Company, 42, 68; ex-
 pedition, 69; Valley, 250,
 301-303
 Old England man, an, 198
 Old Northwest, 57
 Old and sick slaves, 20
 Old South Church, 490
 Old-World, deeds, 496; rivalry,
 151
 Oligarchy, 114
 Onions, 318
 Oppression, 190
 Oranges, 312
 Organization, French, 230
Original Sin, 493
 Origin of Union, 169
 Orphans' home, 34
 Osborn, Admiral, 268
 Oswego, captured, 264; trading
 post, 95, 412
 Otis, James, 152, 175, 184, 493
 Ottawas under Pontiac, 281
 Outline of political measures, 173
 Overflow of North Carolina, 112
 Oxen, 310
 "Oyl-mill," 390

P

Pack-horses, 415
 "Packing" boroughs, 155

Painters' colors, 377
 Paint for houses, 376
 Palachicolas' pathway, 421
 Pamphlets, 378, 466
 Panic, tobacco, 308, 362
 Paper, 372; and printing, per-
 spective, 384; bounty on, 376;
 duties, 375; English report
 on, 374; hangings, 376; home
 product, 376; mill, first, 373;
 -money paper, 374
 Paper money, 109, 129, 426, 493;
 forbidden, 124; issues, 427;
 necessity of, 86; prosperity,
 86
 Papists, Acadian, 213
 Papyrus, 372
 Parchment, 384, 398; pennies, 437
 Parish, 53
 Paris, treaty of, 278, 500
 Parliament, a new, 202; not
 omnipotent, 197; not repre-
 sentative, 154; supreme, 160;
 weak, 165
 Parliamentary, authority, 174;
 grants, Georgia, 33
 Parliaments, abolition of, 500
 Parsons' Cause, the, 173, 177, 185
 Partisan newspapers, 224
 Partition of Poland, 503, 505
 Passion for freedom, 291
 Passions, colonial, 287
 Paternalism, Georgia, 32
 Pathway, Savannah-Darien, 421
 Patriot, colonial, 153
 Patriotism, 152
 Patriots, 174; Georgia, 220; New
 Jersey, 212; New York, 211
 Patriots' pride, 365
 Patroons, 318
 Pay of teachers, 460
 Peace-loving Americans, 223
 Peale's Washington, 495
 Peggy Stewart, the, burned, 214
 Penalty for crime, 487
 Pendleton, Edmund, 215
 Pennsylvania, border war, 262;
 Dutch, 76; government of,
 57; growth of, 23; inertia,
 213; non-importation, 212;
 produce shipped, 413; pros-
 perity, 83; resistance, 212;
 taxes, 212; trade with Eng-
 land, 413; University of, 458
Pennsylvania Gazette, 383
Pennsylvania Packet, 472
 Penn, John, 84
 Penn, Thomas, 86

- Penn, William, 25, 84, 85, 88
 Penn's frame, 288
 Penn's luxury, 84
 Pennies, parchment, 437
 Penny an acre, rent, 37
 Pensacola plotted, 128
 Pens, goose-quill, 463
 People led by a thread, 198
 Pepperell, William, 118, 243, 247
 Peril of ignorance, 459
 Periodicals, 466
 Periods, 18th-century, 509
 Periwig, 478
 Permanent possession, 41
 Perpetual revenue, 436
 Persecuted Palatines, 490
 Persecution of Protestants, 27
 Persuasion, 499
 Pestle mill, 389
 Petersburg established, 68
 Peter, Tsar, 501, 504
 Petition, the New York, 188
 Philadelphia, flour, 306, 389; li-
 brary of, 86; political, 56;
 the printing centre, 376
 Philanthropic, enterprise, 27;
 Georgia, 35
 Philip of Anjou, 498
 Philip V., 508
 Philosophers, 156, 157
 Philosophical speculation, 509
Philosophic Solitude, 493
 Phips, William, 114
 Phonography, 492
 Pig-iron, export of, 412
 Pilgrims at Leyden, 163
 Pillion, 478
 Pilot fees and insignia, 421
 Pioneering, 6; earliest, 41; in New
 England, 231
 Pioneer jealousy, 38
 Pioneers, leading, 39
 Piracy, 91, 92, 94, 400
 Pirates, 75, 77, 78, 117, 123, 147
 Pitt, William, 180, 191, 197, 210,
 222, 502, 509
 Plains of Abraham, 275
 Plan of union, 170, 171
 Plantations, 145
 Planter, colonial, 481
 Planters, rich, 481
 Planters' sons, education, 482
 Plating forge, 338
 Plays, colonial, 475
 Poetry, colonial, 475
 Point Pleasant, 46
 Poland, partition of, 503, 505
 Policing the seas, 148
 Political, cell, 61; development,
 England, 161; economy, 143;
 embargo, 203; evolution, 161;
 institutions, 137; measures,
 outline, 173; measures, selec-
 tion, 173; summary, 113;
 venerer, 509
 Politics, British, 173
 Poltava, 505
 Polygamy, 19, 47
 Pompadour, Madame de, 499
 Pontiac, conspiracy of, 280; Ot-
 tawa chief, 281
 Poor and rich, 430
Poor Richard, 472, 493
 Pope Clement XIV., 508
 Popish-priests to be hung, 490
 Popular commotions, 509
 Population, centres of, 486;
 growth of, 3, 205, 228, 479;
 of colonies, 1700 and 1774,
 (*colored chart*, at end); of Bos-
 ton, 486; of New York, 486;
 of Philadelphia, 486; spread
 of, 228 (*tail-piece*); table, 7
 Populations, colonial, 22; per-
 spective, 2, 122, 223
 Pork, 300
 Portage-routes, 132
 Porter, 397
 Porto Rico, 126
 Port Royal, 29, 234, 236
 Postage rate, 54
 Post, Christian Frederic, 271
 Post-office system, 433, 436
 Post-rider, New York and Con-
 necticut, 421
 Post-routes, 418
 Potash, 395, 397
 Potatoes, 315
 Pots, iron, 328
 Pottery, 395, 398
 Poverty, and luxury, 497; and
 wealth, 433; sinful, 468
 Power of Commons, 181
 Power, repressed, 113
 Powers of the Crown, 166
 Pragmatic Sanction, 499
 Prat, Matthew, 495
 Prerogatives of the King, 153, 155
 Presbyterianism, 450
 Presbytery, first, 451
 Presidio settlements, 137
 Press, freedom of, 378, 379, 485
 Press-work, 378
 Price, of Bible, 381; labor, 364,
 379, 412; land, 431; Negroes,
 21, 22; silver, 432, 437

Pride, in ancestry, 477; of housewives, 376; of patriots, 365; of the empire, 507
 Priests, French, 251
 Primitive isolation, 509
 Primogeniture, 56
 Princes, Teutonic, 504
 Princeton College, 492
 Printer's devil, 378
 Printing, 378; a royal privilege, 373; centre, Philadelphia, 376; paper, 374; permitted, 492, 493; presses, 380; prohibited, 492; suppressed, 384
 Priority of settlement, 8
 Prisoned forbears, 299
 Prison, for debt, 27; textile, 359
 Prisons, English, 25
 Privateering, 400
 Privateers, 108
 Private revenues, 253
 Privileges and immunities, 185; charter of, 83
 Privy Council, 165
 Problems, new, 119
 Production, handicapped, 424; textile, 360
 Profligates, 445
 Progress, beginnings of, 506; in clothing, 362; manufacture, 322; of Revolution, 169; voice of, 48
Progress of Dulness, The, 494
 Prohibition, 32
 "Prometheus of the New World," 471
 Property division, 56
 Prophet, a Delaware, 281
 Proprietary colonies, 49, 55
 Prosperity, and law, 9; and slavery, 302; and suffering, 377; at its best, 432; colonial, 296, 404; Georgia, 33, 302; industrial, 428; Massachusetts, 207, 297; New Jersey, 93; Pennsylvania, 83; true meaning, 397; Virginia, 214
 Protection, 141; English, 191, 325, 326, 329; of labor, 296
 Protestantism, 158
 Protestant persecutions, 27
 Protestants, Maryland, 214
 Provincial Congress, 204
 Provincialism, American, 465; colonial, 476
 Provincialisms, colonial, 476
 Provisions, Massachusetts forbids export of, 413

Provoked Husband played, 494
 Prussia, 501
Psaltarium Americanum, 492
 Public-house rates, 438
 Public opinion expressed, 187
 Public school, 78, 461
 Pueblo settlements, 137
 Pufendorf, Samuel, 157
 Punishments for crime, 487
 Puritan, expansion, 36; theocracy, 121, 467
 Puritanism disintegrating, 446
 Puritan-Presbyterian, 451
 Putnam, Israel, 269

Q

Quadrant, 395
 Quaker, friendship, 90; non-resistance, 262; war-funds, 89
 Quakers, 85, 88; North Carolina, 218; scared, 263
 Quality, of settlers, 135; of teachers, 459
 Quartering troops, 189
 Quebec, Act, 201; Bill, 173; fiasco, 237; Siege of, 273, 277
 Queen Anne's War, 227, 229
 "Queens-arm," 336
 Quincy, Josiah, 190
 "Quin-nibaug plantation," 61
 Quit-rents, New York, 439

R

Race, intermixture, 17; troubles, 97
 Racial, instability, 38; origin, 17
 Radical Maryland, 214
 Rag-carpet, 478
 Rags, collection of, 376
 Raleigh Tavern, 216
 Ramage, John, 495
 Randolph, Peyton, 202
 Ranger pickets, 78
 "Rangers," 112
 Rank of slave owners, 22
 Rank of students, 464
 Râsle, Father, 117
 Ravishment of divine love, 468
 Raw materials, bounties for, 360
 Rebellion, seed-bed of, 491
 Rebellion, spirit of, 163
 Record of deeds and mortgages, 56
 Redemptioners, 479, 487
 Red man, doom of, 280
 Reduction of classes, 479

- Refineries, 337
 Reform Bill, 175
 Reformers, 467
 Regeneration, 455, 456
 Registry of ships, 145
 Regulation, of servants, 293; of trade, 171
 Regulators, 192, 218, 219, 303
 Reimbursement, colonial, 198
 Religion, and morality, 445; in middle classes, 445
 Religious, enthusiasm, 107; liberty, 115; predominance, 490; schools, 492; turmoil, Va., 216
 Renault, Philip, 132
 Renegade whites, 127
 Rent, penny an acre, 37; quarrels, 91
 Repeal of Stamp Act, 187
 Representation, colonial, 172
 Representative body, 154
 Reprisal, war of, 234
 Republicanism, 162
 Republic *versus* Monarchy, 161
 Reputation of North Carolina, 73
 Resentment, Rhode Island, 208
 "Reserved powers," 59
 Resistance, 159; Maryland, 214; Massachusetts, 207; Pennsylvania, 212; Virginia, 218
 Restriction common, 142
 Restrictions, trade, 405
 Revenue, perpetual, 436; refused, 438
 Revenues, land, 325; weak, New York, 436
 Revival, Whitefield, 491
 Revolution, 150; beginning, 176; cause of, 156; English, 163, 182; progress of, 169; supporters of, 159; wedge of, 221
 Revolutionary War, 228
 Rheumatism, 75
 Rhode Island, 107; in war aid, 109; resentment, 208
Rhode Island Gazette, 380
 Rhymesters, colonial, 466
 Rice, 34, 79, 291, 311; and indigo, 440; planters rich, 311; transport, 311
 Rich, and democratic, 479; and poor, 430; families, 480; men few, 309; planters, 481
Richard III. played, 494
 Richmond established, 68
 Rifles, 336
 Rigaud, Pierre François, 264
 Right, to employment, 288; to levy money, 198; to tax, 174, 185
 Rights, Declaration of, 187, 198; inalienable, 158; of man, 158
Rights of British Colonies, 493
 Rival claims, 255
 Rivalry, Old World, 151
 Robbery, textile, 360
 Robertson, James, 39, 45
 Robinson, Andrew, 117
 Rockingham, Earl of, 222
 Rodney, Cæsar, 212
 Rolling-mills, 333
 Roman Catholics, 452
 Romanoffs, 504
 Roominess, colonial, 478
 Rope, 395, 398
 Rotation of crops, 299
 Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 509
 Royal, African Company, 13; colonies, 49, 51; colony, Georgia, 33; prerogative, 161, 166, 181; will displeased, 113
 Rum, 396; import, 412; molasses, and blacks, 23; popular, 231; traded for men, 25
 Rump Parliament, 141
 Rural country, 486
 Russia, 504; hospitable, 505
 Rutgers College, 491, 492
 Rutledges, the, 202
 Ryswick, Treaty of, 4, 113, 230

S

- Saddle-horses, 300
 Saddles, 395, 398
 Sail-cloth, bounty, 366
 Sails, first set, English, 366
 Salary in tobacco, 177
 Salt, 394
 Saltonstall, Gordon, 60, 106
 Salzburgers, 30
 Samp, 389
 Sanction, Pragmatic, 499
 Sanctity, of kings, 509; of marriage, 494
 Sanctuary of runaways, 9, 490
 Sanded floors, 376
 Sanders, Admiral, 274
 San Diego, 139
 Sand-moulds, 331
 Santa Fé, 133, 139
 Satraps, English, 221
 Savages monsters, 267
 Savannah, 28
 Sawmill capacity, 388

- Sawmills, progress, 387
 Saxons, 38
 Saybrook platform, 490
 Scamps, native-born, 475
 Scarcity of specie, 423
 Scholarly activity, 504
 School, fees, 464; girls', 462; houses, 463, 464; sessions, 461; teachers' pay, 438; text knowledge, 162; year, 462
 Schoolmaster, pay of, 460
 Schools, grammar, 462; public, 461; spinning, 366, 368
 Schooner, 117, 419
 Scotch Highlanders, 97
 Scotch-Irish, 30, 38, 152, 310; and linen, 365
 Scurrilous literature, 383
 Seamanship, superb, 274
 Seamen impressed, 124
 Sea-paths, 415
 Seats in Parliament, 26
 Secoffee, Seminole chief, 127
 Secret treaty, France and Spain, 279
 Sedan-chair, 478
 Seditious libels, 484
 Selection of political measures, 173
 Selectmen, 63
 Self-education, 458
 Self-government, 90, 162
Selling of Joseph, 468
 Senate, United States, 104
 Serge on Long Island, 361
 Servants, regulation of, 293
 Settlement, priority of, 8
 Settlers, unsuccessful, 73
 Seven Years' War, 499
 Sevier, John, 39, 45, 46
 Sewall, Samuel, 466, 468
 Sex-purity, 17
 Sexual irregularities, 455
 Shackles of trade broken, 433
 Shakers arrive, 491
 Shaved clapboards, 388
 Sheep, 319
 Sheriffs, 53, 60
 Sherman, Roger, 202
 Ship *Anne*, 29
 Shipbuilding, 128, 441
 Shipbuilding material, 439; perspective, 353
 Ships, registry of, 146
 Ships, sale of, 401
 Shirley, William, 118, 243; a colonel, 247; governor, 262
 Shoemakers, 391
 Shoes, improvements in, 391
 Shute, Samuel, 110, 117
 Sick or old slaves, 20
 Siege of Quebec, 273, 277
 Silk, 316; experiment, President Styles, 317; filatures, 368; Georgia, high price, 439; product checked, 317
 Silk-raising fashionable, 317
 Silver, price of, 432
 Silver Scheme paper money, 439
 Simsbury mine, 339
 Singing schools, 492
 Six Nations, 40, 95
 Six-Principle Baptists, 491
 Slave, factories, European, 13; investments, 482; lords, 11; market, South Carolina, 24; owners, rank of, 22; real estate, 122, 490
 Slavery, 12, 292, 297, 468; abolition, 85, 494; century, 15; declines, 97; in 1863, 158; justified, 19; Negro, 468; price of, 102; prosperity, 302
 Slaves, 81, 82, 291; an investment, 482; hired, 33; legal rights, 20; sick or old, 20; Virginia, 214
 Slave-trade, 396, 406; and missions, 12; ports in England, 13; receipts, 13
 Slave-traders' guilt, 14
 Slave-trading stockholders, 13
 "Sleeping dogs," 183
 Slitting-mills, 331, 333
 Sloop run away with, 421
 Smallpox, 494
 Smith, Adam, 143
 Smoke-and-flame conflagration, 497
 Smuggling, 94, 146, 147, 175, 181
 Snowstorm, the great, 117
 Social, background, 83; collisions, 102; conditions, 26, 457, 495; customs, 495; grades, 479; leveling, 479; life, 477, 494; mind, new, 469; order, 488; perspective, 494; poise, 488; relations, 479; system, foundation, Georgia, 34; tone, south, 10; transformation, 480
 Socialism and democracy, 162
 Societies, new, 501
 Society, colonial, 477; for Promoting the Gospel, 452; industrial, 294; library, a, 493

- "Son of thunder," 447
 Sons of Liberty, 173, 190, 191
 "Soul-liberty," 107
 South Carolina, 77; agriculture, 302; a slave market, 24; boundary, 224; Indians, 78; initiative, 435; slaves, 219
 South Carolina's one city, 79
 Southern, colonies, 64; colony grain, 306; colony life, 291; luxury, 311; New England, 102
 South Sea Bubble, 439
 South Sea Company, 13
 South, the real, 80
 Sovereignty, English, 153
 Sovereignty of Crown, 155
 Sower, Christopher, 382
 Spain, 507
 Spain and France, 3
 Spanish, century, 4; confusion, 138; corruption, 508; domain, 3; gold-miners, 28; inquisition, 14; invaders, 240; missions, 137; population, 3
 Spanish-English War, 227
 Specie, basis, 431; basis in Massachusetts, 439; drainage, 408; scarce, 423
 Speculators, 78
 Spikes, 335
 Spinning, 289, 358; matches, 367; schools, 366, 368
 Spirit, of Constitution, 180; of rebellion, 163
 Spoils of office, 96
 Spotswood, Alexander, 41, 51, 66, 68, 75
 Stadtholderate, 507
 Stage, Boston-Providence, 421
 Stage routes, 418
 Stamp Act, 162, 173, 183, 186, 294, 407, 435, 494; colonial, 439; repeal, 187
 Stamp collectors, 187
 Stamp duties, amount of, 186
 Stamped paper, English, 375
 Stamp taxes, 198
 Standards, moral, 453
 Stanwix Treaty, 223
 Starving fugitives, 267
 State, government, parent of, 50; sovereignty, 59
 Steam engine, experimental, 398
 "Steed mills," 389
 Steel, 337, 338
 Stimulants, 393
 St. John, capture of, 235
 Stock Co., liability, 439
 Stock, improved, 300
 Stoddard, Solomon, 448
 Stoves, 331, 335
 Street lamps, 395, 398
 Street riots, 191
 Struggle, New Hampshire, 208
 Student-rank, 464
 Studies, elementary, 461
 Stuffs, 362
 Subdivision, 399
 Subscription library, first, 493
 Subscriptions, popular, 28
 Suffering and prosperity, 377
 Suffrage, 58; and theocracy, 120; property qualification, 111
 Sugar, Act, 146, 406; a luxury, 305; cane, 398
 Sugar-making, 318
 Sugar-mill, 398
 Summary, political, 113
Summary View, 204, 217
 Superb seamanship, 274
 Superstitious Acadia, 249
 Supplies, French, stolen, 264
 Suppression of Jesuits, 500
 Surplus, American, 300; crops, 298; grain, 305
 Swamp-Negroes, 19
 Swedish Lutherans, 90
 Swiss sects, 452
 Symbert, John, 494
 Synod union, 491

T

- Taking "hell in tow," 274
 Talcott, Joseph, 106
 Tan-bark, 391
 Tan-vats, 289, 391
 Tanyards, 397
 Tar, 320, 395, 398
 Tar and feathers, 202
 Taxation, 434, 508; against consent, 204; and representation, 174, 184; not tyranny, 199; on windows, 168; theory of, 173; vs. representation, 154
 Tax, exemption, 338; on almanacs, 375; proceeds, 193
 Taxes, 321; and consent, 215; and representation, 440; English, 407; from without, 196; internal, 174; paid in products, 432; Pennsylvania, 212; self-imposed, Massachusetts, 124

- Taxing, commerce, 403; non-residents, 420
 Teachers, itinerant, 460; quality of, 459
 Teaching Negroes, 492
 Tea-kettle, cast-iron, 338
 Tea, Party, Hudson River, 224; tax, 294, 408; used, 494
 Tennent, William, 464
 Tenth Muse, the, 470
 Tenure of office, 62
 Terrific logician, 469
 Tests of colonial iron, 329
 Teutonic princes, 504
 Texas, communities, three, 138; named, 136
 Text-books, 463
 Textile, bar, 359; prison, 359; production, 360; robbery, 360
 Textiles, 358, 440; perspective, 370
 Thanksgiving, 124
 Theatre, at Charleston, 495; built in New York, 494
 Theatrical plays, 475
 Theatricals forbidden, 491, 494
The Croakers, 493
 Theocracy, 114; and suffrage, 120; Puritan, 121, 467
 Theodolite, 395
 The Ohio Company, 124
 "The one thing needful," 34
 Theory of demand, 426
 Thomas, George, 87
 Thomson, Charles, 202
 Thought, freedom of, 466
 "Three days' walk," 41
 Thrift, 290; and industry, 82
 Thunder, son of, 447
 Ticonderoga, 270, 277
 Tide-mills, 398
 "Tight little island" chief, 279
 Tilt-hammer, 333
 Timothy, 318
 Tin-plate, 338
 Tobacco, 291, 307, 395, 440; duties, 308; export, 308, 412, 413; export tax, 213; grievances, 321; impost, 437; middleman, 308; panic, 308, 362; pipes, price of, 437; rolling, 416
 Toll-bridge, 421
 Tomo-chi-chi, 29, 33
 Tonnage duty, 420
 Tories, 160
 Town-meeting, 59, 63, 114, 120
 Town, man of the, 194; powers, 59; resemblances, 100
 Towns, none, 291
 Townshend Acts, 173, 187, 413
 Townshend, Charles, 187
 Trade, 399, 441; balance of, 295; demands of, 425; emancipation, 422; embarrassment, 294; of a king, the, 497; perspective, 411; regulation, 143, 171, 403; restrictions, 405; revision, 406; rivalry, 414; route, Wabash, 418; with France and Holland, 405
 Traders, cross Appalachians, 250; France excludes, 254
 Trading route to the Mississippi, 132
 Traditions, New World, 119
 Traitors, 152
 Transformation, social, 480
 Transportation, 145, 415, 441; perspective, 420
 Treason, 152
 Treasurer in New York, 436
 Treaty, of Aix-la-Chapelle, 248; of commerce, South Carolina, 412; of Fort Stanwix, 40; of Paris, 128, 223, 278, 500; of Ryswick, 113, 230; of Stanwix, 223; of Utrecht, 238
 Trial, foreign, 201
 Trinitarian, 450
 Trinity School, 491
 Troops, billeting of, 201
 Trumbull, Jonathan, 60, 209
 Trust betrayal, 79
 Truth, ever-living, 252
 Tryon, William, 192, 193, 210, 218, 221
 Tsar Peter, 504
 "Tubal Cain" of Virginia, 67
 Tucson, 139
 Turbulent Rhode Island, 107
 Turmoil, religious, 216
 Turnips, 299
 Turpentine, 320
 Tuscaroras, 72, 123
 Tutors, 460
 Twelve assistants, 58
 Twentieth-century freedom, 482
 Tyng, Edward, 244
 Type, brevier, 385
 Type foundry, 381
 Tyranny, and anarchy, 162; of democracy, 87; of king, 178

U

- Umbrellas, 395, 398
 Unbelievers, 445
 "Unconstitutional," 186
 Un-English government, 65
 Union, colonial, 96, 169, 183; of
 English governments, 170;
 origin of, 169; plan of, 170, 171
 Unitarians, 450
 Universalists, 491
 Universal medium, 428
 Universal monarchy, 170
 University of Pennsylvania, 458
 Unreligious disposition, 94
 Unsuccessful settlers, 73
 Upper classes of Europe, 508
 Usher, John, 110
 Utrecht, treaty of, 238

V

- Vandreuil, Governor, 132, 233,
 272, 275, 286
 Vassalage in taxes, 188
 Vaughn, William, 245
 Velvet and iron, 496
 Venal conspiracy, 167
 Veneer, political, 509
 Vérendrye, Chevalier, 134
 Vérendrye, Pierre Gaultier, 134
 Vérendryes, the, 133
 Vernon, Admiral, 68
 Versailles Palace, 496
 Vestries, 54
 Vetch, Samuel, 235
 Veto, 115
 Vice-admiralty courts, 173, 181
 "Vicious circle," 252
 Victory of democracy, 485
 Vigilance Committee, 211
 Vincennes, 131, 135
 Virginia, 50, 66; agitation, 215;
 clergy, 454; cloth manufac-
 ture, 308; discontent, 215;
 enterprise, 254; fasting, day
 of, 217; first paper money,
 439; growth of, 24; prompt-
 ness, 435; prosperity, 214;
 provisions, 495; resistance,
 218; resolutions, 185, 440;
 sedition, 186; slavery, 214
 Virginias, three, 68
 Vitality, Negro, 15
 Voice of progress, 48
 Voltaire, 157, 500, 509
 Voting public, 53
 Voting qualification, 436

W

- Wabash trade-route, 418
 Waffle-iron, 478
 Wages and prices, 433
 Wagon-road, military, 258
 Wagon-roads, 486
 Wagon-route privilege, 421
 Wain, four-ox, 414, 417
 Walker, Sir Hoveden, 238
 "Walking purchase," 87
 Wall-paper, 376
 Walpole, Robert, 239, 257, 403,
 506
 War, debts, Connecticut, 105;
 forces, three great, 230; in-
 citement, European, 228; in-
 evitable, 163; levies, 117;
 money by Pennsylvania, 240;
 of Austrian Succession, 241,
 242, 499; of reprisal, 234; of
 trade, 234; perspective, 226;
 prizes, 209; reimbursement,
 118; report, Rhode Island,
 108; the Seven Years', 499;
 to protect smugglers, 239;
 versus normal forces, 230
 Warfare and trade, 15
 Warren, Admiral, 244, 247
 Washington, 202, 203, 222, 252,
 254, 255; born, 35; leader, 11;
 path-breaker, 39; surveyor,
 40, 42
 Washington and Lee University,
 492
 Washington, Lawrence, 42, 68
 Wasteful agriculture, 319
 Water routes, 419
 Watson, John, 494
 Wealth and poverty, 433
 Wealth, ostentatious, 101
 Wealthy classes, 480
 Weavers' articles, 370
 Weavers, itinerant, 371
 Weaving, 289
 Weaving rebellion, 218
 Webb, Thomas, 447
 Wedge of revolution, 221
Weekly Post Boy, 493
 Welfare, general, 456
 Wells raided, 229
 Wentworth, Benning, 112
 Wentworth, John, 111, 208
 Wesleyan Methodism, 447
 Wesleys, the, 33, 491
 West, Benjamin, 475, 494
 Western, frontier, first, 72; mi-
 gration, 36

- West India, cargoes, 402; trade, 413
 West Indies, 3
 West, the first, 80
 Whaling, 142, 396, 419
 Wheat, 300, 305, 306, 440
 Whigs, 160; American, 223; families, 181
 Whitefield, George, 33, 34, 244, 446, 458
 White labor, 9
 Whites, and climate, 10; distribution of, 102
 White slaves, 436
 Whitewashed walls, 377
 Wigs, 395, 398
 William III., 58, 505
 William and Mary College, 438, 491
 Williams College, 261
 Williams, Ephraim, 261
 Williams, John, 233
 Willing, Thomas, 90
 Wilmington, 76, 90
 Windmills, 289
 Windows taxed, 168
 Wine, import, 412; making, 398
 Winning, Canada, 273; the West, 43
 Winthrop, Fitz John, 106
 Wolf bounties, 436
 Wolfe, James, 190, 269, 273; death of, 277; "mad," 273
 Woman printer, 380
 Women marry Indians, 233
 Wood land, new, 321
 Wool- and cotton-cards, 371
 Woolen cloth, 365
 Woolman, John, 466, 468
 Work, love of, 292
 Wright, Sir James, 34
 Wright, Patience, 494
 Writers, colonial, 466
 Writing paper, 374
 Writs of Assistance, 149, 173, 175, 407, 493
 Wyllys, George, 61
 Wyoming, 88
 Wyoming Valley, 223; industry, 303
 Y
 Yale College, 491; a ruling power, 105; copper income, 339; named, 105
 Yale, Elihu, 105
 Yamacraw Indians, 29
 "Yankee," the runaway, 471
 Yellow fever, 494
 Young Pretender, 31
 Z
 Zeal for education, 462
 Zenger, John Peter, 96, 483; imprisoned, 493; trial of, 483

10/12

